JULY 4, 2005

The Nation.

www.thenation.com

$2.95
$3.95 Canada

BOLIVIA'S BATTLE OF WILLS
Christian Parenti

MIA: NEWS OF DEATHS IN US CUSTODY
Todd Gitlin

DEBATING THE PATRIOT ACT
nthony D. Romero
Kate Martin
David Cole

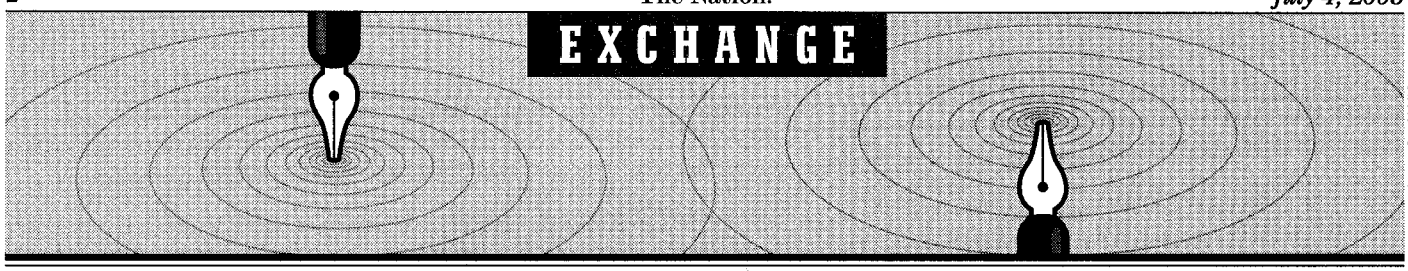
FROM HANOI TO BAGHDAD
Andrew J. Bacevich

HOW DEEP THROAT FOOLED THE FBI

by DAVID CORN & JEFF GOLDBERG

#BXNKBXM **********AUTO** 5-DIGIT 94301
#UNZ0555B096 1#302604 TW
FEB 05 07
RON K UNZ USPA
555 BRYANT ST 371
PALO ALTO CA 94301-1704 P0024

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



CHRISTOPH NIEMANN

Card-Carrying Member...

New York City

■ When it comes to defending the Constitution and the Bill of Rights, the nonpartisan ACLU is just as happy to work with the Center for Constitutional Rights and the National Lawyers Guild as with Bob Barr and the American Conservative Union. But the ACLU's "strange bedfellows" alliance with conservatives against renewal of controversial Patriot Act provisions has not, as David Cole suggests, submerged our broader reform agenda ["The Missing Patriot Debate," May 30]. In fact, our association with conservative groups has triggered a groundswell of debate across the political spectrum on permanent Patriot Act provisions and other government policies that roll back rights.

Cole quite rightly champions the importance of these issues, and we applaud his legal work on behalf of the Humanitarian Law Project, a group that has been prevented from providing human rights training and advice to groups designated as "terrorist" under the Patriot Act. That is why the ACLU filed a brief in support of his case on May 16, and testified in Congress on the matter one week earlier.

Cole also rightly deplores the government's use of Patriot Act immigration provisions to revoke the visas of Tariq Ramadan and Dora Maria Tellez. We agree—and recently filed a Freedom of Information Act request seeking records of the government's practice of excluding scholars and other prominent people from the United States because of their political views.

While our legislative staff has been busy lobbying against reauthorization of Patriot Act Section 215 ("library records") and Section 218 ("secret searches") and other provisions, our lawyers have been just as busy in the courts. Our challenge to National Security Letters (Section 505) resulted in the invalidation of one of the most controversial provisions of the Patriot Act. Cole might also remember the ACLU litigation challenging the secret deportation hearings of hundreds if not thousands of immigrants. Sadly, the Supreme Court chose not to review those ACLU cases, just as the Court also refused to hear our challenge of the increased use of Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act powers in the government's war on terror.

As far as immigrant advocacy is concerned, we didn't earn any brownie points with many conservatives when we sent observers to Arizona to monitor the Minuteman Project's border watch program, or when we advocated strenuously against the anti-immigrant provisions of the REAL ID bill, or when we opposed the fingerprinting and photographing of young Muslims. We've also actively opposed the incommunicado detention of so-called "enemy combatants," "material witness" detentions, ethnic profiling of Arabs and Muslims, computer data mining and FBI infiltration of public meetings.

The ACLU was deeply involved in legal and public education work on behalf of immigrants detained and deported after 9/11; we played a large role in curbing data mining and surveillance programs like MATRIX, Total Information Awareness and TIPS; we mobilized to provide legal advice to the thousands of immigrants rounded up under the "special registration" program; and we have distributed tens of thousands of our "Know Your Rights" materials for immigrants in seven languages, including Arabic, Hindi, Urdu, Farsi, Punjabi and Somali.

There is no question that the ACLU shares Cole's concerns about the government crackdown on dissent. We launched a major campaign last year to expose and prevent FBI spying on people simply for speaking out or practicing their faith. We have filed FOIA requests in more than a dozen states, and obtained evidence that confirms the FBI and local police are spying on political, environmental, antiwar and faith-based groups. We are also representing a former FBI employee and other government whistleblowers. Many of these efforts have made headline news.

Finally, Cole's exhortation to "emphasize a human rights approach" is precisely what the ACLU has been doing for the past three years. It was the ACLU that secured more than 35,000 pages of documents in litigation against the government demonstrating that the torture and abuse of detainees were systemic. In the confirmation process of Attorney General Alberto Gonzales, the ACLU was vigorous in raising questions about his role in the so-called Torture Memos. With Human Rights First, we sued Defense Secretary Rumsfeld and other top officials over torture and abuse in Afghanistan and Iraq.

Conservatives understand that the ACLU is a principled organization, and they don't seem concerned that our "liberal" views will rub off on them. Similarly, liberals (and *Nation* readers) shouldn't worry that our conservative bedfellows will hog all the blankets. Or perhaps, rather than being effective, liberals prefer being left out in the cold. ANTHONY D. ROMERO
Executive director, ACLU

Washington, DC

■ While David Cole is right that much of the Patriot Act debate in Congress is focused on marginal details, many civil liberties supporters are working to question the government's powers outside the Patriot Act and to protect the rights of noncitizens.

Cole himself testified about the unconstitutional immigration provisions in the Patriot Act. My organization, the lead party in the lawsuit challenging the post-9/11 detentions of hundreds of innocent people, testified about surveillance powers outside the Patriot Act. We urged Congress to limit the powers enacted in 1994, which allow permanently secret national security searches of homes, and to amend one of the noncontroversial parts of the Patriot Act, which permits the CIA to establish a database on everyone in the United States. We persuaded the American Bar Association to include the post-9/11 detentions in its website, www.patriotdebates.com.

More than 100 civil rights groups—including the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, National Council of La Raza and Human Rights Watch—have urged Congress to examine the post-9/11 civil liberties abuses outside the Patriot Act, especially those targeted against immigrants and minorities. Some, including Senator Patrick Leahy and Representatives Howard Berman and William Delahunt, have pushed for a broader debate. With the support of these groups, they and other members have introduced legislation that would restore some part of our civil liberties by prohibiting secret immigration hearings and restricting the unfair jailing of immigrants suspected of being out of status.

This effort built on and is sustained by the work of the hundreds of communities that have condemned all the civil liberties abuses in anti–Patriot Act resolutions. Now a national network organized as the Rights Working Group is coming together to protect the due process, free speech and privacy rights of everyone in the country. The movement includes the conservative libertarians who believe that the Constitution is for everyone, not just citizens, to restore a principle still embraced by the majority of Americans: No one should be unfairly jailed or deported, citizen or no. The Patriot debates are just the beginning. KATE MARTIN, *director*
Center for National Security Studies

COLE REPLIES

Washington, DC

■ Let me begin by saying that I have never been more proud to be a card-carrying member of the ACLU than in the post-9/11 era. I have considered it an honor to work alongside ACLU lawyers on a wide range of civil liberties cases and battles. To cite only one example, the ACLU of Southern California is co-counsel with me in the

(Continued on Page 24)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PRINTED JUNE 15 VOLUME 281, NUMBER 1

IN THIS ISSUE

EXCHANGE

2 CARD-CARRYING MEMBER...
Anthony D. Romero, Kate Martin, David Cole

EDITORIALS & COMMENT

3 THE WAR DEBATE REOPENS

4 SINS & THE CITI
William Greider

6 PRESS WATCH
MIA: News of Prison Toll
Todd Gitlin

7 COMIX NATION
Up in Smoke
Roberto Parada

8 WHISTLEBLOWING: MY STORY
Jesselyn Radack

9 LETTER FROM GROUND ZERO
The Exception Is the Rule
Jonathan Schell

COLUMNS

6 DEADLINE POET
Cheney: Insurgents in "Last Throes"...
Calvin Trillin

10 DIARY OF A MAD LAW PROFESSOR
Just a Theory
Patricia J. Williams

11 THE LIBERAL MEDIA
Clinton Agonistes
Eric Alterman

ARTICLES

13 BOLIVIA'S BATTLE OF WILLS
The social movements have momentum, but are they ready for power?
Christian Parenti

19 HOW MARK FELT FOOLED THE FBI
Deep Throat survived—perhaps because he was assigned to investigate himself.
David Corn & Jeff Goldberg

BOOKS & THE ARTS

25 PORTER: Perils of Dominance: Imbalance of Power and the Road to Vietnam
Andrew J. Bacevich

29 SAMIR KASSIR (1960–2005)
Adam Shatz

30 MUSIC: Bruce Springsteen
Jody Rosen

34 FILMS
Cinderella Man
Mr. & Mrs. Smith
Batman Begins
Stuart Klawans

Cover photo-illustration by Gene Case & Stephen Kling/Avenging Angels; illustration by Christoph Niemann

EDITORIALS

The War Debate Reopens

Vice President Cheney insists that he has not read what he refers to as "the so-called Downing Street memo"—the memo that says that British officials thought that "intelligence and facts were being fixed" in Washington in 2002 to justify a war with Iraq. And despite the stream of revelations in the British press about conversations between Prime Minister Tony Blair and aides who said President George W. Bush "was determined" to attack Iraq long before going to Congress or the United Nations, Cheney again insisted during a National Press Club appearance that "any suggestion that we did not exhaust all alternatives before we got to that point [of launching the invasion], I think, is inaccurate."

An expanding number of Americans, and their elected officials, think differently. More than 500,000 people have signed a petition generated by Representative John Conyers that demands answers from the White House regarding allegations that "fixed" intelligence was used to coerce the country into a war that has cost more than 1,700 American lives and tens of thousands of Iraqi lives. Almost 100 members of the House have signed on to a letter from Conyers containing a similar demand, and a number of senators, including John Kerry and Edward Kennedy, have taken up the issue.

The Downing Street revelations come at a time when support for the war is in rapid decline. New polls show that nearly six in ten Americans now believe the war was not worth its human and economic cost, and for the first time since the war began, more than half say it has not contributed to the long-term security of the United States. A growing number of members of Congress, back from their Memorial Day break with questions about Downing Street echoing in their ears or with recollections of funerals for soldiers in their hometowns, are starting to talk about setting a timeline for bringing the troops home.

On June 14, Senator Russ Feingold introduced a resolution calling on the President and his Administration to "report to Congress with a plan and timetable for the subsequent withdrawal of U.S. troops from Iraq." In the House, 128 members, including five Republicans, voted in May for a similar resolution, sponsored by Representative Lynn Woolsey. Republicans Walter Jones and Ron Paul were among those set to reintroduce the resolution as a bipartisan measure. Jones is the conservative firebrand who coined the phrase "freedom fries" because of his anger at the French, two years ago, for slowing the rush to war. Now, Jones says, "Congress must be told the truth."

If the freedom-fries guy can be brought around to questioning the war, we've certainly reached a turning point. Congressman Conyers and his allies in groups like Progressive Democrats of America have reopened the debate about who is responsible for the illegal war in Iraq and what should be done now. Calls for impeachment are beginning to be heard at the grassroots—as, for example, the Wisconsin Democratic Party's passage of an impeachment resolution at its recent state convention. AfterDowningStreet.org, an activist coalition, is spearheading a call for a resolution of inquiry by the full House, which would require a Judiciary Committee investigation. We recognize how improbable impeachment is at this time. But the space that has been opened up by the Downing Street memo allows for conversations that were unimaginable a few months ago. Congress may not be talking impeachment, but members' calls for withdrawal are now seen as far from radical. And the momentum is on their side.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

COMMENT

The Nation.

PUBLISHER: Victor Navasky

EDITOR: Katrina vanden Heuvel

MANAGING EDITOR: Karen Rothmyer
LITERARY EDITOR: Adam Shatz
SENIOR EDITORS: Richard Lingeman, Betsy Reed
SENIOR EDITOR/COPY CHIEF: Roane Carey
COPY EDITOR: Judith Long
ASSISTANT COPY EDITOR: Mark Sorkin
COPY ASSOCIATE: Lisa Vandepaer
ASSISTANT TO THE EDITOR: Peggy Suttle
ASSISTANT TO THE LITERARY EDITOR: Christine Smallwood
INTERNS: Fatin Abbas, Amanda Ballantyne, Lauren Bans, Meredith Clark, Mark Hatch-Miller, Eric Magnuson, Liliana Segura, Alexa Rose Steinberg (*Washington*)

WASHINGTON, DC: EDITOR: David Corn; CORRESPONDENT: John Nichols

NATIONAL AFFAIRS CORRESPONDENT: William Greider

COLUMNISTS: Eric Alterman, Alexander Cockburn, Naomi Klein, Katha Pollitt, Patricia J. Williams

DEPARTMENTS: *Architecture*, Jane Holtz Kay; *Art*, Arthur C. Danto; *Books*, Lee Siegel; *Corporations*, Robert Sherrill; *Defense*, Michael T. Klare; *Environment*, Mark Hertsgaard; *Films*, Stuart Klawans; *Legal Affairs*, David Cole; *Music*, Jody Rosen; *Peace and Disarmament*, Jonathan Schell; *Poetry*, Grace Schulman; *United Nations*, Ian Williams; *Deadline Poet*, Calvin Trillin

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS: Kai Bird, George Black, Robert L. Borosage, Stephen F. Cohen, Marc Cooper, Mike Davis, Slavenka Drakulić, Robert Dreyfuss, Susan Faludi, Liza Featherstone, Thomas Ferguson, Doug Henwood, Max Holland, Molly Ivins, John Leonard, Michael Moore, Richard Pollak, Joel Rogers, Kirkpatrick Sale, Robert Scheer, Herman Schwartz, Ted Solotaroff, Edward Sorel, Gore Vidal, Jon Wiener, Amy Wilentz, Art Winslow

CONTRIBUTING WRITERS: Eyal Press, Scott Sherman

BUREAUS: *Budapest*, Miklós Vámos; *London*, Maria Margaronis and D.D. Guttenplan; *Southern Africa*, Mark Gevisser

EDITORIAL BOARD: Norman Birnbaum, Richard Falk, Frances FitzGerald, Eric Foner, Philip Green, Lani Guinier, Tom Hayden, Randall Kennedy, Tony Kushner, Elinor Langer, Deborah W. Meier, Toni Morrison, Richard Parker, Michael Pertschuk, Elizabeth Pochoda, Marcus G. Raskin, David Weir, Roger Wilkins

PRESIDENT: Teresa Stack

ASSOCIATE PUBLISHER, SPECIAL PROJECTS/WEBSITE: Peter Rothberg
ASSOCIATE PUBLISHER, DEVELOPMENT/ASSOCIATES: Peggy Randall
VICE PRESIDENT, ADVERTISING: Ellen Bollinger
ADVERTISING MANAGER, SMALL DISPLAY, EVENTS, CLASSIFIED: Leigh Novog
VICE PRESIDENT, CIRCULATION: Arthur Stupar
CIRCULATION MANAGER: Michelle O'Keefe
CIRCULATION FULFILLMENT MANAGER: Miriam Camp
PRODUCTION DIRECTOR: Omar Rubio
TYPOGRAPHER/WEB PRODUCER: Sandy McCroskey
PRODUCTION MANAGER: Timothy Don
NATION ASSOCIATES MANAGER: Peter Fifield
PUBLICITY/SYNDICATION DIRECTOR: Mike Webb
COMMUNICATIONS COORDINATOR: Habiba Alcindor
DIRECTOR OF TECHNOLOGY/WEB PUBLISHER: Scott Klein
TECHNOLOGY COORDINATOR: Amiri K. Barksdale
CONTROLLER: Mary van Valkenburg
ASSISTANT TO THE PUBLISHER AND OFFICE MANAGER: Mary Taylor Schilling
DATA ENTRY/MAIL COORDINATOR: John Holtz
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT: Kathleen Thomas/Stacy Torres
BUSINESS ASSISTANT: Joliange Wright
RECEPTIONIST/BUSINESS ASSISTANT: Larri Washington

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR: E-mail to letters@thenation.com (300-word limit). Letters are subject to editing for reasons of space and clarity.
SUBMISSIONS: Queries only, no manuscripts. Go to www.thenation.com and click on "about," then "submissions" for a query form. Queries may be mailed to The Nation, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003. SASE for poems.

The Nation (ISSN 0027-8378) is published weekly (except for the second week in January, and biweekly the third week of July through the second week of September) by The Nation Company, L.P. © 2005 in the U.S.A. by The Nation Company, L.P., 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003. (212) 209-5400. Washington Bureau: Suite 308, 110 Maryland Avenue N.E., Washington, DC 20002. (202) 546-2239. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY, and at additional mailing offices. Subscription orders, changes of address and all subscription inquiries: The Nation, PO Box 55149, Boulder, CO 80322-5149, or call 1-800-333-8536. Publications Mail Agreement No: 40041477. Return undeliverable Canadian addresses to Circulation Dept. or DPGM, 4960-2 Walker Road, Windsor, ON N9A 6J3. **When ordering a subscription, please allow 4-6 weeks for receipt of your first issue and for all subscription transactions.** Back issues $4 prepaid ($6 foreign) from: The Nation, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003. The Nation is available on microfilm from: University Microfilms, 300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106. Member, Audit Bureau of Circulations. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to The Nation, PO Box 55149, Boulder, CO 80322-5149. Printed in U.S.A. on recycled paper.

INTERNET: Selections from the current issue become available Thursday night at www.thenation.com.

Sins & the Citi

In the deregulated realm of US banking and finance, crime does occasionally pay for its foul deeds, not in prison time but by making modest rebates to the victims. On June 10 Citigroup, the largest and most flagrant of Wall Street offenders, agreed to provide $2 billion to the injured investors in Enron, the colossal corporate hoax whose ingenious balance-sheet deceptions were engineered by financiers at Citigroup and other leading banks. Another major culprit, JP Morgan Chase, settled a few days later for $2.2 billion. This sounds like a lot of money, but it's trivial alongside the $40 billion or more that shareholders and pension funds lost in the Enron swindle. Citigroup had already paid even more—$2.65 billion—for its role in the WorldCom swindle. No contrition required; pay out some money, get on with business.

We might at least pause to marvel at what the modern bankerly imagination has created: a huge, all-service, guilt-free money machine. Criminal behavior is defined downward into a manageable cost of doing business. For its part in numerous reckless scandals, Citigroup has set aside (or already expended) an astonishing total of $9.8 billion. But since its quarterly earnings run around $5 billion, these costs are easily spread over years (and reduced by one-third after tax deductions). Some financial experts argue that this new beast of megabanking would become still more profitable if it decided to obey the laws. I'm not so sure. Citi's criminal behavior is so far-flung and ambidextrous it seems to be part of the profit structure.

At the dawn of early capitalism five centuries ago, the merchant princes of the Roman Catholic Church were absolved of mortal sins—usually the sin of usury—by paying handsome indulgences to the church. American democracy appears to have re-created a similar system, reflected in Citigroup's rap sheet. In addition to Enron and WorldCom, Citi was implicated in fraudulent collaborations with Global Crossing, Dynegy, Adelphia and a bunch of other corporations. Its high-flying stock touts—most infamously Jack Grubman of its Salomon Smith Barney subsidiary—took care of the corporate insiders by gulling the sheeplike investors and awarding lucrative IPO shares to favored customers and friends. The SEC investigation noted lawsuits alleging that Citi analysts' research reports on companies were "without a reasonable basis in fact." Citi paid $400 million for forgiveness, then paid additional apologies for allowing mutual funds and other institutions to harvest under-the-table profits.

Citigroup is a global model of these enterprising US methods. In China two Citigroup investment executives were suspended for providing false information to regulators. In Britain securities regulators investigated when Citi engineered a huge, $13.5 billion bond sale, then bought back the bonds at depressed prices (the bank apologized to Europeans burned in the transaction). In Argentina the US SEC went after Citi's accounting irregularities. In Japan Citigroup was forced to close down its private banking operations in 2004—accompanied by humbled, bowing apologies—for allowing employees to engage in fraudulent transactions.

The ugliest dimension of Citi's profitability (though trivial in scale compared with investment banking) involves "predatory

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Think of them as a reprieve from the world around you. Whether it's the engine roar inside an airplane cabin, the bustle of the city or the distractions in the office, Bose QuietComfort® 2 headphones help them fade softly into the background. And they do it with the flick of a switch. You can savor the delicate musical nuances without disturbing others. And when you're not listening to music, you can slip into a tranquil haven – where you can relax and enjoy peace and solitude. Clearly, these are no ordinary headphones. It's no exaggeration to say they're one of those things you have to experience to believe.

That's what columnist Rich Warren says. To enjoy peace and tranquility, simply turn them on. To add Bose quality sound, attach the included audio cord and connect them to a home stereo, laptop computer, portable CD/DVD/MP3 player or in-flight audio system. When you're done, their convenient fold-flat design allows for easy storage in the slim carrying case.

Use them as a concert hall – or a sanctuary.

Presenting The Bose® QuietComfort® 2 Acoustic Noise Cancelling® Headphones.

Reduce noise with Bose technology. Our headphones were designed primarily for airplane travelers. But owners soon started telling us how much they enjoy using them in other places to reduce distractions around them. QuietComfort® 2 headphones incorporate patented technology that electronically identifies and dramatically reduces noise, while faithfully preserving the music, movie dialogue or tranquility you desire. *Technologyreview.com* reports, "It's as if someone behind your back reached out, found the volume control of the world, and turned it way, way, down." Perfect for listening to music, whether you're on the go, at home or in the office.

Try the QuietComfort® 2 headphones for yourself risk free. We don't expect you to take our word for how dramatically these headphones reduce noise, how clean and full the audio sounds or how comfortably they fit. You really must experience them to believe it. Call toll free to try them for 30 days on your next trip, in your home or at the office – satisfaction guaranteed. If you aren't delighted, simply return them for a full refund.

Call 1-800-636-2073, ext. Q4106 today. These headphones are available directly from Bose – the most respected name in sound. So call and discover a very different kind of headphone – Bose QuietComfort® 2 Acoustic Noise Cancelling headphones.

FREE shipping with your order.

Enjoy your music with our best headphone sound quality ever. *CNET* says "All sorts of music – classical, rock, and jazz – sounded refined and natural." In fact, our QuietComfort® 2 headphones deliver audio that's so crisp and clear, you may find yourself discovering new subtleties in your music. *Travel & Leisure Golf* simply says, "Forget 'concertlike' comparisons; you'll think you're onstage with the band."

"The QuietComfort 2 lives up to its name, enveloping you in blissful sound... It's easy to forget they're on your head."

To order or for a free information kit call:

1-800-636-2073, ext. Q4106

Discover all our innovative products at

www.bose.com/q4106

Name_____

Address_____

City_____ State_____ Zip_____

Day Phone_____ Eve. Phone_____

E-mail (Optional)_____

Mail to: Bose Corporation, Dept. DMG-Q4106, The Mountain, Framingham, MA 01701-9168

BOSE®
Better sound through research®

©2005 Bose Corporation. Patent rights issued and/or pending. Free shipping offer not to be combined with any other offer or applied to previous purchases, and subject to change without notice. Risk free refers to 30-day trial only and does not include return shipping. Delivery is subject to product availability. Quotes are reprinted with permission: Simson Garfinkel, *Technologyreview.com*, 7/9/03; David Carnoy, *CNET*, 5/29/03; *Travel & Leisure Golf*, 7/03; Rich Warren, *News-Gazette*, 5/19/03.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

COMMENT

lending" to poor people trying to buy homes. Its consumer finance division, CitiFinancial, and subsidiaries jacked up interest rates and gouged buyers with inflated up-front fees and unneeded insurance coverage, thus setting up unwitting borrowers for default and loss of their homes. Among enforcement actions was one by the Federal Trade Commission that resulted in Citi's paying $215 million in restitution. Even the Federal Reserve was moved to fine Citi $70 million for violating federal fair-lending laws and attempting to mislead bank examiners. Undeterred by its notoriety, however, Citigroup keeps buying up low-end finance companies, promising to do better in the future. Sandy Weill, the now retired chief executive, confided to Citi employees: "I feel badly, and I truly regret the pain that has been caused." He meant, it seems, the pain to Citi employees—not Citi's victims.

Financial reform—to the extent there was a movement in that regard (it didn't go very far)—is over, obviously, though the scandals continue. What's left is this nagging question: Where was the public outrage? Why did the blizzard of scandals not generate an angry new politics to confront bloated institutions like Citigroup and cut down their reach and lawless arrogance? The answer involves partisan politics—but maybe not what you expect.

Citigroup is a monstrosity created in its current state wholly by the Democrats, not right-wing Republicans, just as the original financial deregulation enacted in 1980 was achieved by a Democratic President and Democratic Congress, not Reaganites. That legislation abolished interest-rate controls and decriminalized usury (for an example of legalized usury, check the interest charges on your credit card). The 1998 legislation that created all-purpose megabanks was achieved by Bill Clinton, but with advanced regulatory approval from Fed Chairman Alan Greenspan. Treasury Secretary Robert Rubin—author of Clinton's finance-friendly economic policy—then returned to New York to chair Citi's executive committee. When the Enron fiasco broke in 2001, it was Rubin who phoned a Treasury official to suggest the government come to Enron's rescue. The Bush Administration wisely kept its distance.

Without a political party to voice a critique and rally demands for reform, the popular rage was smothered and diffused. People felt shame for losing their savings and deeper cynicism about Washington. The political club responded clubbily to the financial disaster. Faced with a crime spree on Wall Street, Democrats looked the other way. Rubin and Wall Street friends remain trusted advisers to party leaders, including presidential hopefuls like Hillary Clinton. More to the point, Rubin manages a major flow of Wall Street political money, financing not only candidates but much of the influential policy infrastructure now forming around the party. Grassroots Democrats who believe getting Republicans out of power will restore an equitable system need to understand this. After they defeat the right, they will then have to take on the Democratic Party's own "Citigroup caucus." WILLIAM GREIDER

CALVIN TRILLIN

CHENEY SAYS IRAQ INSURGENTS ARE IN 'LAST THROES'

When rockets fly and battle smoke is thick,
It's good to hear from "Four Deferments Dick."
He's always sure. He knows what warfare is—
Enough to know it's not for him or his.
Insurgents somehow, though they're in the throes,
Kill more GIs—but no one Cheney knows.

MIA: News of Prison Toll

The Bush Administration misses no opportunity to smack the mainstream media around for undermining the otherwise stellar reputation of the United States (*Newsweek* triggered riots in Afghanistan!). But these same media could plausibly be charged—at least some of the time—with burnishing the Administration's facade.

Although militant jihadists need no particular pretext to justify their anti-American outbursts, surely no feature of the American occupation of Iraq has angered more friends, ex-friends and half-friends abroad—not to mention at home—than the torture and often arbitrary imprisonment of suspects in the chain of prison camps stretching from Cuba's Guantánamo to Iraq's Abu Ghraib to Afghanistan's Bagram. Yet to an astonishing degree, the major news media have given a pass to one egregious feature of these American camps, arguably more egregious than torture, sexual titillation, the use of dogs or the desecration of the Koran: the number of detainees who have died in US custody.

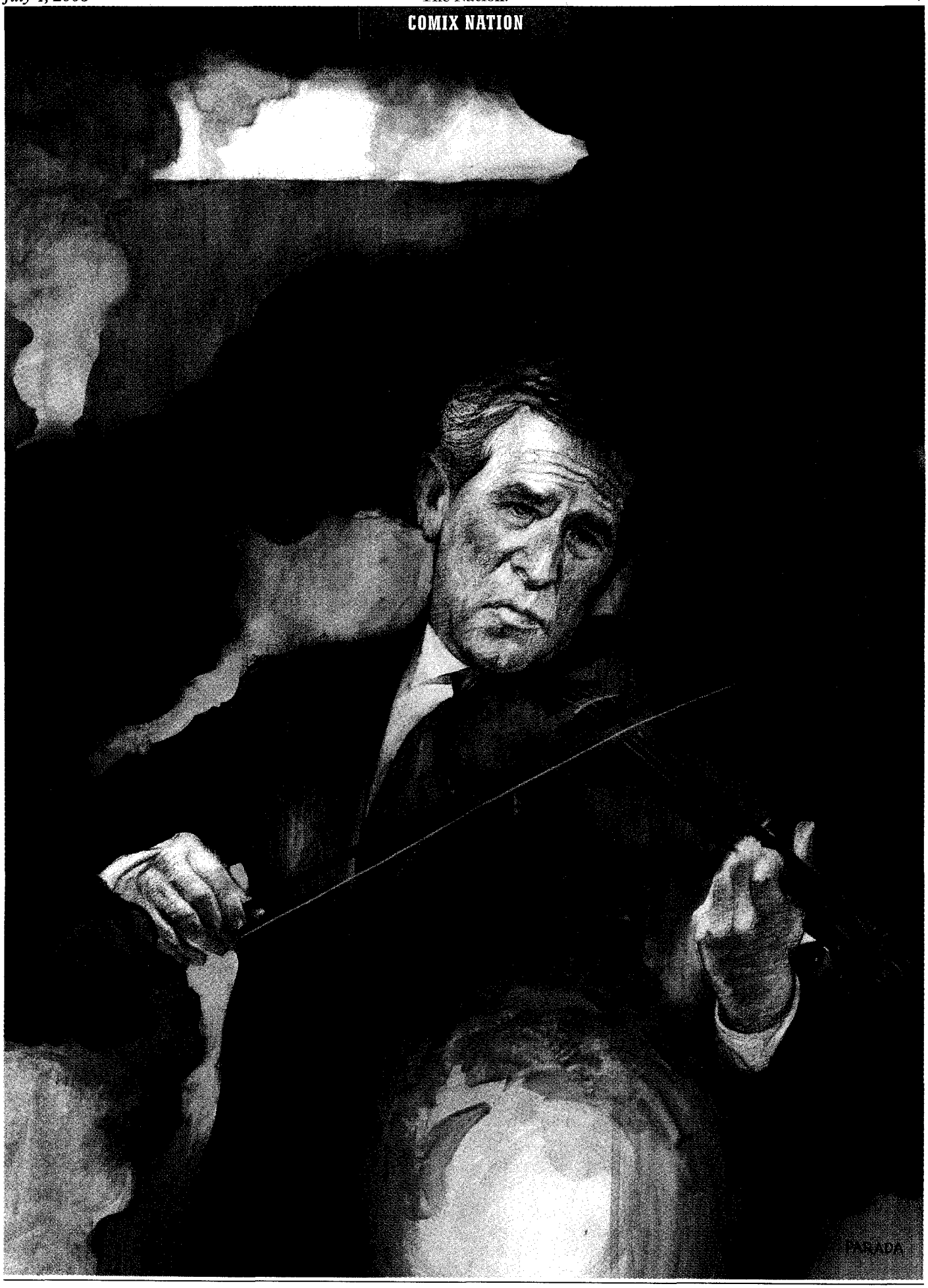
It was left to an opinion columnist, the *New York Times*'s Thomas Friedman, not a news reporter, to declare on May 27 that "the abuse at Guantánamo and within the whole U.S. military prison system dealing with terrorism is out of control. Tell me, how is it that over 100 detainees have died in U.S. custody so far? Heart attacks?"

The *Times* itself recently issued an in-house report calling for a sharper demarcation between news and opinion, and yet in a stark and consequential matter of fact the presumably hard news side has mainly gone missing. The pattern of deaths has scarcely been noticed. Reporters are not doing the needed round-ups, adding up facts and looking at patterns.

I used the LexisNexis database to see what major US news organs have reported about deaths of prisoners in US hands since the beginning of 2005. Here are the results. On television: nothing on CBS, one brief mention on NBC, another on ABC. Nothing on CNN, nothing on Fox, nothing on MSNBC. On public television and radio, now under fire from the head of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting for "liberal bias": After Friedman's column appeared, Jim Lehrer cited 100 deaths, considering twenty to be "homicide," and NPR's *Talk of the Nation* interviewed Amnesty International's William Schulz, who said, "Twenty-seven of those detained by the United States have been ruled to be the victims of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

COMIX NATION



Freelance illustrator Roberto Parada's work has appeared in Time, Esquire *and* Rolling Stone.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

homicide by medical examiners." That's it from the broadcasting subversives. Nothing from *Time*—or *Newsweek*.

Among the top newspapers inventoried by LexisNexis (thus excluding the *Wall Street Journal*), the *Times* is almost alone in giving any attention to deaths suffered at American hands. A long and powerful front-page article by Tim Golden on May 22 mentioned two deaths under torture in Bagram. Another front-pager by Douglas Jehl and Eric Schmitt (March 16) was headlined U.S. MILITARY SAYS 26 INMATE DEATHS MAY BE HOMICIDE, citing military officials as its sources. On March 10, in the twenty-third paragraph of a story that started on page one, Schmitt reported that Vice Adm. Albert Church, the naval inspector general, found "68 detainees who died while in American custody," but that only six "were related to detainee abuse." Turning to other major papers: An April 28 report in the *Boston Globe* mentioned "at least 28 deaths." A *Washington Post* report on Admiral Church's testimony before the Senate Armed Services Committee did not mention deaths at all. That's it from America's major newspapers.

After the massacres of September 11, 2001, the *Times* published "Portraits of Grief," a series that memorialized the more than 2,700 victims. ABC's *Nightline* went past its normal length to list the names of all US soldiers dead in Iraq. The sheer numbers of the American dead are of course amply reported, though only some of the wounded are included in official figures. The number of Iraqis thought to be dead and wounded is barely noted. It requires no claim of moral equivalence, no imputation that any or all of the prisoners who died were innocent (or guilty), to say that the death of prisoners at US military bases and prisons is a proper subject of journalistic attention. Friedman, the columnist, rightly called these deaths, whatever their exact number, "not just deeply immoral" but "strategically dangerous." Surely they matter.

The news would not be gloating, or dragging the Bush White House into imaginary mud, if it compiled and investigated these numbers. It would be reporting. TODD GITLIN

Todd Gitlin, a professor of journalism and sociology at Columbia University, is the author of The Intellectuals and the Flag, *forthcoming this fall.*

Whistleblowing: My Story

I was as shocked as anyone to learn that former FBI deputy director W. Mark Felt is Deep Throat. Deep Throat is the patriarch of whistleblowers—the quintessential anonymous source so under attack these days. What shocked me even more was Felt's timing: While his advanced age is an obvious reason for revealing himself as the *Washington Post*'s source, all other indicators counsel against it. Ours is an Administration obsessed with secrecy and loyalty. It is the most opaque, anti-leak, truth-phobic Administration in decades. The Justice Department, where I used to work, even created an interagency anti-leak task force under Attorney General John Ashcroft to plug the holes. The executive branch's punishment of whistleblowers is notorious and unmerciful.

My story is not as well-known as that of former Ambassador Joseph Wilson, who publicized the fact that there was little evidence that Saddam Hussein had sought uranium in Africa, and whose wife's career was destroyed through the White House revelation that she was an undercover CIA operative. Or that of former Treasury Secretary Paul O'Neill, who revealed in a book that an invasion and occupation of Iraq had been planned by the Administration before September 11, 2001. Or that of Richard Clarke, the White House counterterrorism chief who wrote a book and testified before the 9/11 Commission about George W. Bush's lackadaisical response in 2001 to repeated warnings of an impending terrorist attack. Nor is my story in the same league as that of former Army Chief of Staff Gen. Eric Shinseki, who told Congress that several hundred thousand troops would be required to conquer and occupy Iraq—an action that ended his career. Or that of Richard Foster, the Medicare system's chief actuary, who was threatened with dismissal if he revealed to Congress the likely cost of the Administration's prescription drug plan.

Rather, I am twisting in the wind with lesser-known people, like US Park Police Chief Teresa Chambers, who was fired for saying her understaffed department had to curtail critical patrols beyond the national Mall because of Interior Department orders requiring more officers to guard downtown national shrines, and FBI translator Sibel Edmonds, who was fired for saying the division was riddled with incompetence and corruption.

In December 2001, as a legal adviser to the Justice Department's Professional Responsibility Advisory Office, I counseled the criminal division that an FBI interrogation of "American Taliban" John Walker Lindh without his lawyer's being present would be unethical. When I was informed three days later that Lindh had been interrogated anyway, I advised that the interview might have to be sealed and used only for national security and intelligence-gathering purposes, not criminal prosecution. Three weeks later, then–Attorney General Ashcroft announced that Justice was filing a criminal complaint against Lindh, and another three weeks after that he announced Lindh's indictment, saying that his rights "have been carefully, scrupulously honored."

I knew that wasn't true.

Around that time, I was given a blistering, untimely, unsigned and unprecedented performance evaluation—despite having received a performance award and a raise during the preceding year—and told either to find another job inside government (my boss gave me leads, which would be ridiculous if I were indeed incompetent) or outside it, otherwise the vitriolic review would be placed in my permanent personnel file. A few weeks later, I happened to learn that the judge in the Lindh case had ordered that all Justice Department correspondence related to Lindh's interrogation be submitted to the court. I learned about the order only because the prosecutor contacted me directly, stating he had two of my e-mails and wanted to make sure he "had everything." I knew I'd written more than a dozen. When I went to check the paper file, I found that the e-mails containing my assessment that the FBI had committed an ethical violation were missing.

With the help of technical support, I resurrected the missing e-mails from my computer archives, documented and included them in a memo to my boss and took home a copy in case they "disappeared" again. Then I resigned. Months later, when the Justice Department continued to claim that it had never believed

(Continued on Page 24)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

JONATHAN SCHELL

The Exception Is the Rule

Sometimes the truth of a large, confusing historical enterprise can be glimpsed in a single news report. Such is the case in regard to the Iraq War, it seems to me, with the recent story in the *Washington Post* by Anthony Shadid and Steve Fainaru called BUILDING IRAQ'S ARMY: MISSION IMPROBABLE. Shadid and Fainaru did something that is rarely done: spend several days with a unit of Iraq's new, American-trained forces. (The typical treatment of the topic consists of a few interviews with American officers in the Green Zone in Baghdad, leading to some estimation of how long it will take to complete the job.) The *Post* story starts with the lyrics of a song the soldiers of the unit, called Charlie Company, were singing out of earshot of their American overseers. It was a ballad to Saddam Hussein, and it ran:

> We have lived in humiliation since you left
> We had hoped to spend our life with you

The American press often discusses the political makeup of the insurgency, but no one until now has suggested that some of the very forces being trained by the United States might be longing for the return of Saddam. To the extent that this is the case—or that these forces are otherwise opposed to the occupation—the United States, far from improving "security," is now training the future resistance to itself. Indeed, the soldiers of Charlie Company told Shadid and Fainaru that seventeen of them had quit in recent days. They added that every one of them planned to do the same as soon as possible. Their reasons were simple. They were bitter at the United States. "Look at the homes of the Iraqis," one soldier remarked. "The people have been destroyed." When asked by whom, he answered, "Them"—and pointed to the Americans leading the patrol. The Iraqis had enlisted in the new army only for the salary—$340 per month, an enviable sum in today's ruined Iraq. But the money had come at the price of self-respect. The new recruits had been bought off and hated themselves for it. One said that after they had all quit, "We'll live by God, but we'll have our respect."

One might wonder whether the reporters had deliberately or unknowingly picked an exceptionally rebellious unit. But in fact, Charlie Company was selected by the US Army itself, presumably eager to put its best foot forward.

The American officers' response to their sullen recruits is of a piece with the entire American effort in Iraq. The officers treat their charges as if, owing to certain mysterious personal defects, they somehow are not quite up to the job they have been given. After a typical episode in which the unit was attacked and ran away (four hailed taxis to make their escape), Sgt. Rick McGovern, who leads the unit, dressed them down. "You are all cowards," he informed them. He went on, "My soldiers are over here, away from our families for a year. We are willing to die for you to have freedom. You should be willing to die for your own freedom." The tongue-lashing assumed that the Iraqis and the American shared a cause that, as the story shows, was actually 100 percent missing. Iraqi men who hate the American occupation are not cowards if they decline to shoot other men who are fighting the occupation. On the contrary, the more courage they had, the less they would engage in such a fight. The men of Charlie Company do indeed lack courage—courage to turn down the money they accept for pretending to fight for a cause they despise. Their most cowardly moment, given their beliefs, was when they sat still while Sergeant McGovern called them cowards. One soldier, Amar Mana, explained the situation in the clearest terms: "We don't want to take responsibility," he said. "The way the situation is, we wouldn't be ready to take responsibility for a thousand years."

And so the Americans and the Iraqis of Charlie Company, like the United States and Iraq in general today, are led, by choice on the one side and by bribery and compulsion on the other, to play roles in a script that has little or nothing to do with the situation they are actually in. In this situation, it is not necessary to form a whole sentence to tell a lie. Use of single words or phrases—"Iraqi sovereignty," "freedom," "election," "security," "democracy," "anti-Iraqi forces," even "courage" and "cowardice"—involve the speaker in deception, for they are the constitutive elements of a framework of thought and belief that is itself a fabrication.

The American occupation of Iraq is something new, but the fundamental error of the United States has a long pedigree. It is the imprisonment of the human mind in ideology backed by violence. The classic example is Stalin's Russia, under which decades of misrule were rationalized as a "stage" on the way to the radiant future of true communism. As for the miserable present, it was amusingly called "actually existing communism." The future, when it came, of course was not communism at all but the disintegration of the whole enterprise. All the "stages" turned out to lead nowhere.

Once the mind is in the grip of such a system, every "actually existing" horror can be seen as a mere imperfection in a beautiful larger picture, every defeat a stage on the way to the glorious future. The simpler and more coherent an ideology, the better it can withstand the assault of fact. So today in Iraq, every act of torture, every flattened city, every gushing sewer, every car-bombing and beheading, is presented as a bump on the road to "freedom" for Iraq, or for the Middle East, or even for the whole world, in which our President has promised an "end to tyranny." (It's apparently a rule of ideology that the more sordid the reality, the more grandiosely splendid the eventual goal must be.)

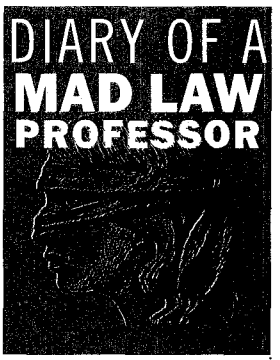
But a moment comes—perhaps it is a sudden defeat, or perhaps it is merely reading a story like Shadid and Fainaru's—when the fantasy dissolves, and then one is left face to face with the factual truth. All the "exceptions" turn out to be the rule. When that happens with respect to Iraq, America's grotesque misadventure there—born of lies, sustained by lies and productive of more lies every day it continues—will be brought to a close.

Jonathan Schell is The Nation Institute's Harold Willens Peace Fellow. His most recent book is The Jonathan Schell Reader.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PATRICIA J. WILLIAMS

Just a Theory



I was curled up on my couch listening to a radio program about neurobiology. Apparently there is an area of the brain that, when damaged, causes a loss of the ability to understand metaphor. If you tell certain stroke victims, for instance, that "George Bush is no rocket scientist," they understand it to mean that he is a politician with no background in the aeronautical sciences. Since this was one of the examples actually cited by the researchers speaking on the radio, it rather begged for a little meditation on literalism in politics as well as the religiously inspired fundamentalism that seems to have swept our public discourse.

Let me start with a disclaimer: I do not want to imply that literalism is a form of brain damage. But I thought the broadcast was interesting because the mental condition seemed like (as in simile) the kind of speech so prominent in debates that increasingly pit "secular humanists" against certain religious and political conservatives. If every word in "George Bush is no rocket scientist" is read only in its narrowest sense, the literalism of its "truth" would require skinning from it all unspoken, contextual, syllogistic and cultural meaning: to wit, that if rocket science is a complex area of study, George Bush is not therefore a student of complexity.

Let me make a second disclaimer for those who are quick with inference: I do not think George Bush is a dimwit. (Wrong as rain, but not a dimwit. Not, let me hasten to add, that I think rain is wrong.)

What triggers the disinclination to metaphor? What would make someone so resistant to the wordplay, the poetry, the malleable space that allows the mind to leap and compare and fictionalize and pretend? Literal readings make words holy; and whether that is an impulse motivated more by respect, fear of blasphemy or mere authoritarianism is becoming an issue in a world where hundreds of millions are newly born-again evangelical/literalist/fundamentalists of one sort or another. I must confess that I am suspicious of a mindset that never veers from face value. I think that metaphor is related to the ability to empathize. You substitute one concept for another, you imagine that two very different things are somehow the same. When I say that the room is hotter than an oven, I'm invoking the oven symbolically, parabolically and yes, hyperbolically. Metaphor is a tiny unit of relativism, I suppose, and relativism is certainly under siege as the property of atheists and communists. But while the image of me-in-the-roasting-pan is not true in one sense, it is accurately evocative as a communicative matter, the kind of expression that connects us in our distinct and foreign bodies one to another. You are likely to feel the urgency of my misery just a little bit more than if I said, "I'm hot."

Why am I going on about this? I guess because I've been arguing with an evangelical friend of mine who sees my understanding of language as dangerous. My friend takes me to task for what he calls my "nihilism" and "postmodernism." And by that he meant specifically that I'm the sort who "views the Bible as fairy tale." He's a true-blue believer, one who carries a wad of those "Just a Theory" stickers to paste on "evolutionist" biology textbooks, Harry Potter novels and Barney dolls.

The culture wars that began in the early 1990s have long since braced me for debates in which I'm called a vulgar relativist. But recently it seems as though this discussion goes well beyond careless epithet and has entered a land where there can be no middle ground. It is as though we've entered a place of utterly incompatible "worldview." I know, I have my own convictions that are abundantly self-evident to me. Perhaps that faith in the transparent rightnesss of what I'm saying is my own form of evangelical self-righteousness. And, I admit, I was raised to think of the Bible as parabolic, meaning I always thought of it as a book with lessons that were to be applied in daily life, but in a metaphoric way, because that is how we bring that ancient wisdom to bear in the present. You take two situations and make a comparative leap, a reasoned deduction. You relate the two not because they are identical but because they have some crucial element in common. It's the same thing I do in analogizing two cases in the law. There is creative play in that, but it also contains the seed, the first step, of something like the scientific process.

And so I read with some curiosity and foreboding about creationists who continue to wage war against the notion of evolution, who argue with flat insistence that God made the earth in six days and rested on the seventh. They dispute claims of paleontologists that fossils are tens of millions of years old as inconsistent with the Bible's characterizations of the world as 6,000 years old. (The Answers in Genesis website advises believers to ask of nonbelievers: "Were you there?") In response to religious pressure, the Cobb County Children's Museum, in Georgia, is rumored to be "updating" the displays of *Tyrannosaurus rex* by "adding footprints next to the dinosaur bones to show that man and beast once lived side by side."

And in northern Kentucky, evangelical minister Ken Ham is building a $25 million Museum of Creation, which will show, purportedly, AIDS as God's punishment of homosexuals, and a *Tyrannosaurus rex* chasing Adam and Eve upon their expulsion from the Garden of Eden. I know, too, that this is a matter of faith, of perspective. What worries me is the general collective shift in this direction. The insistence upon flat meanings is a way of not looking behind words. The injunction not to look behind words is a habit of deference, of faith, of doing as one's told without question, even where the physical evidence is overwhelmingly contradictory. It would not be anything I'd be concerned about if this didn't seem also to be at the heart of an increasingly successful evangelical push to merge the interests of church and state. And an ideology of obedience to the literal word is the last thing we need in a world as overheated (metaphor: oven, pressure cooker, boiling pot) as ours. ■

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ERIC ALTERMAN

Clinton Agonistes

John Harris's history of the Clinton Administration, *The Survivor*, has met with almost universal praise from reviewers, much of it deserved. Harris, who spent six years covering the Clinton White House for the *Washington Post*, has done an admirably thorough and empathetic job of re-creating the zeitgeist of the Administration. Unlike Bob Woodward, Harris does not seek to sensationalize his material by ripping it out of context and trumpeting it as the newest Watergate-style outrage. Instead, he patiently weighs motive, perspective and memory to provide a richly nuanced and knowing version of events.

Still—and you knew this was coming—there's a massive hole in this book where the role of Harris and his colleagues should be. Over and over, Harris points to some political explosion over a ridiculously minor issue and treats it as if it's the result of a meteorological disturbance rather than an outgrowth of the self-conscious irresponsibility of the media. Early in the book, for instance, we hear that Clinton "was judged for his haircut," which cost $200 and forced the closure of two runways at LAX, where it took place. Harris notes that "initial reports that air traffic was kept circling for hours turned out some weeks later to be wrong. By then, Clinton had long since apologized.... Too late—this trivial episode had already entered the anti-Clinton mythology."

Note the use of the passive voice: Clinton "was judged"; note also that the episode "entered the anti-Clinton mythology" as if on its own wings. No matter that the story turned out to be based on false information. No planes were delayed, and yet the trumped-up media hysteria forced a presidential apology. And note that the truth, finally, did not matter. No less ridiculous, Harris later describes another nutty phony crisis because Clinton, after an hour of schmoozing reporters in the back of Air Force One, averred that he hoped "to get people to get out of their funk." You see, Harris explains, "'Funk' sounded a bit as if Clinton thought the country was facing 'malaise.' 'Malaise' was the word people associated with the failed presidency of Jimmy Carter." Etc., etc. Reels the mind...

More significant, Harris ignores the de facto alliance forged by the far right's sliming machine, talk-radio, the cable news networks and an irresponsible mainstream media, which has been detailed in books by yours truly, Sidney Blumenthal, David Brock, Joe Conason and Gene Lyons, Jeffrey Toobin, Marvin Kalb and by Clinton himself. One does not have to embrace the authors' politics to be impressed by the amassed evidence.

Harris does believe that Hillary Clinton's allusion to a "vast right-wing conspiracy" was conveyed by the media to give her argument a "more paranoid tone than the interview in full context," and he goes on to note that "her general points were entirely defensible, including that the Lewinsky allegations were promoted by those 'using the criminal justice system to try to achieve political ends in this country.'"

And yet, in his rendering of the Whitewater/Lewinsky investigation, Harris never once delves into the cozy (and potentially illegal) relationship between Ken Starr's leaky prosecutorial staff and the credulous reporters who ran its political interference; this despite the fact that the judicial investigation of these nefarious tactics was itself a large part of the story.

Harris also glosses over Starr's connection to the uppermost reaches of his own, extremely powerful, newspaper. Harris does discuss the President's (profane) reaction to reading Sally Quinn's infamous apologia for Establishment Clinton-haters, but Harris does not quote Quinn explaining, "Starr is a Washington insider, too. He has lived and worked here for years. He had a reputation as a fair and honest judge. He has many friends in both parties. Their wives are friendly with one another and their children go to the same schools." In her 3,579-word article, Quinn did not find the space to mention Judge Starr's much-appreciated dismissal of a $2 million libel judgment against the *Post*. Neither does Harris.

Harris also does Clinton, and history, a significant disservice on terrorism. He seems to want to hold Clinton accountable for the media's—and Congress's—unwillingness to heed the President's frequent warnings on Osama bin Laden and the terrorist threat. As former Clinton speechwriter Ted Widmer has pointed out, "The press corps was oblivious, and the Republican Congress simply opposed anything Mr. Clinton proposed. Then, after George W. Bush became President, when the G.O.P. had a chance to do something about terrorism, they slashed counterterrorism funding, ignored intelligence concerning Al Qaeda and chased after chimeras like a national missile-defense system."

Recall that the media's hero during this part of the terrorism story was FBI Director Louis Freeh, the object of an embarrassingly adoring *New Yorker* profile by Elsa Walsh—Mrs. Bob Woodward—for his willingness to treat the Clinton crew as near criminals. We now know that Freeh's incompetence helped pave the way for 9/11. The bureau's failure to share the most basic information with the White House and the rest of the security apparatus allowed Al Qaeda to plan and execute its murderous plot undisturbed. According to the just-released Justice Department Inspector General's report, the bureau missed at least five opportunities before 9/11 and this proved "a significant failure that hindered the FBI's chances of being able to detect and prevent the September 11 attacks."

Because Harris largely ignores his colleagues' anti-Clinton animus, he is at a loss to explain the phenomenon to which he continually alludes: the consistent "dichotomy" between the reaction of the media elite and that of most of America to *l'affaire* Lewinsky. As insider Washington defines its values, Clinton's failed attempt to mislead the nation about whether he had "sexual relations with that woman, Miss Lewinsky" is a far worse crime than George Bush & Co.'s successful deception to lead the nation into a ruinous war. It is a minority viewpoint in most of the world, including the United States; but one that is treated with contempt and condescension in our SCLM (so-called liberal media). ■

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NOBODY OWNS THE NATION.

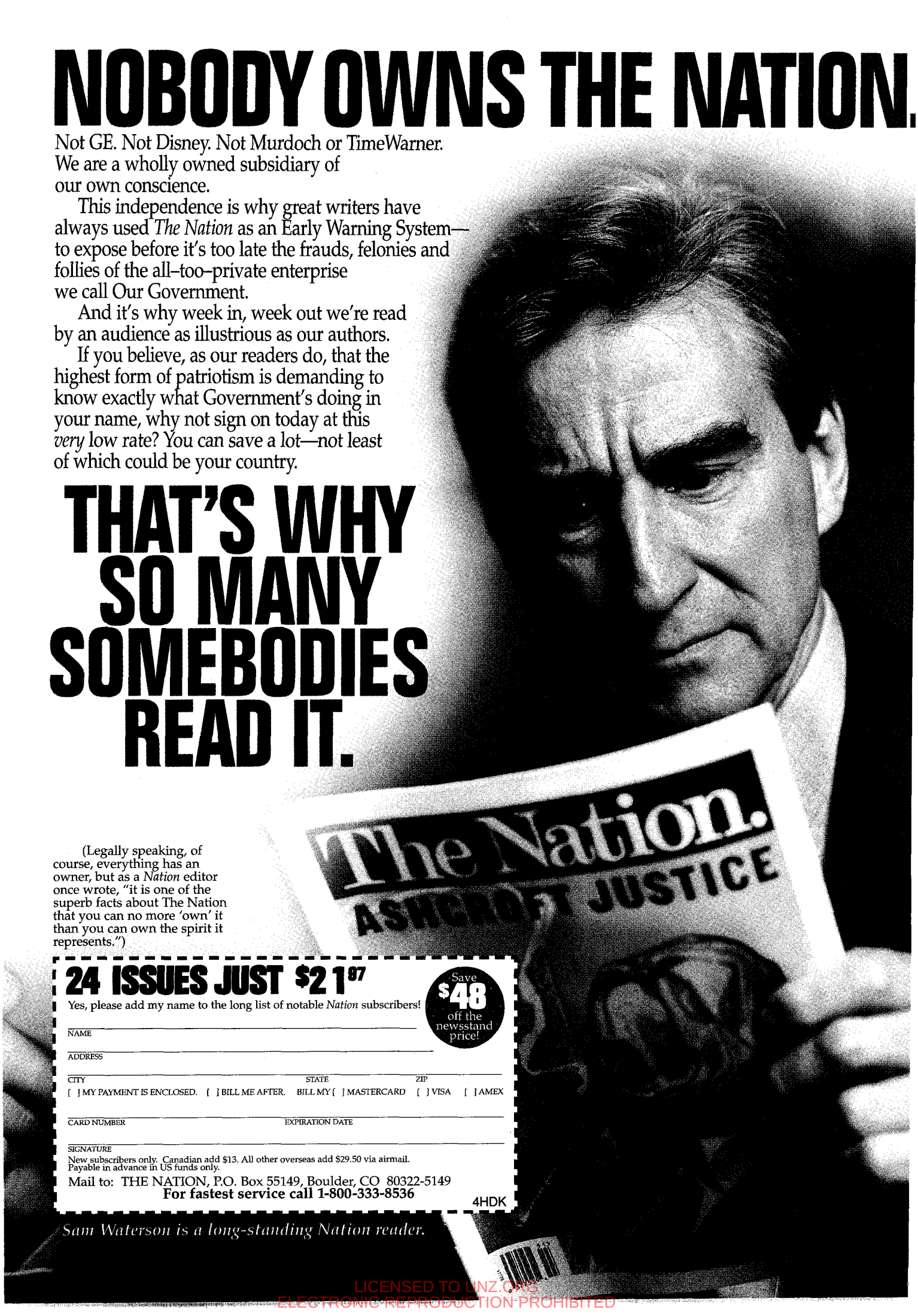
Not GE. Not Disney. Not Murdoch or TimeWarner. We are a wholly owned subsidiary of our own conscience.

This independence is why great writers have always used *The Nation* as an Early Warning System—to expose before it's too late the frauds, felonies and follies of the all–too–private enterprise we call Our Government.

And it's why week in, week out we're read by an audience as illustrious as our authors.

If you believe, as our readers do, that the highest form of patriotism is demanding to know exactly what Government's doing in your name, why not sign on today at this *very* low rate? You can save a lot—not least of which could be your country.

THAT'S WHY SO MANY SOMEBODIES READ IT.



(Legally speaking, of course, everything has an owner, but as a *Nation* editor once wrote, "it is one of the superb facts about The Nation that you can no more 'own' it than you can own the spirit it represents.")

24 ISSUES JUST $21.87

Save $48 off the newsstand price!

Yes, please add my name to the long list of notable *Nation* subscribers!

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY STATE ZIP

[ ] MY PAYMENT IS ENCLOSED. [ ] BILL ME AFTER. BILL MY [ ] MASTERCARD [ ] VISA [ ] AMEX

CARD NUMBER EXPIRATION DATE

SIGNATURE

New subscribers only. Canadian add $13. All other overseas add $29.50 via airmail. Payable in advance in US funds only.

Mail to: THE NATION, P.O. Box 55149, Boulder, CO 80322-5149

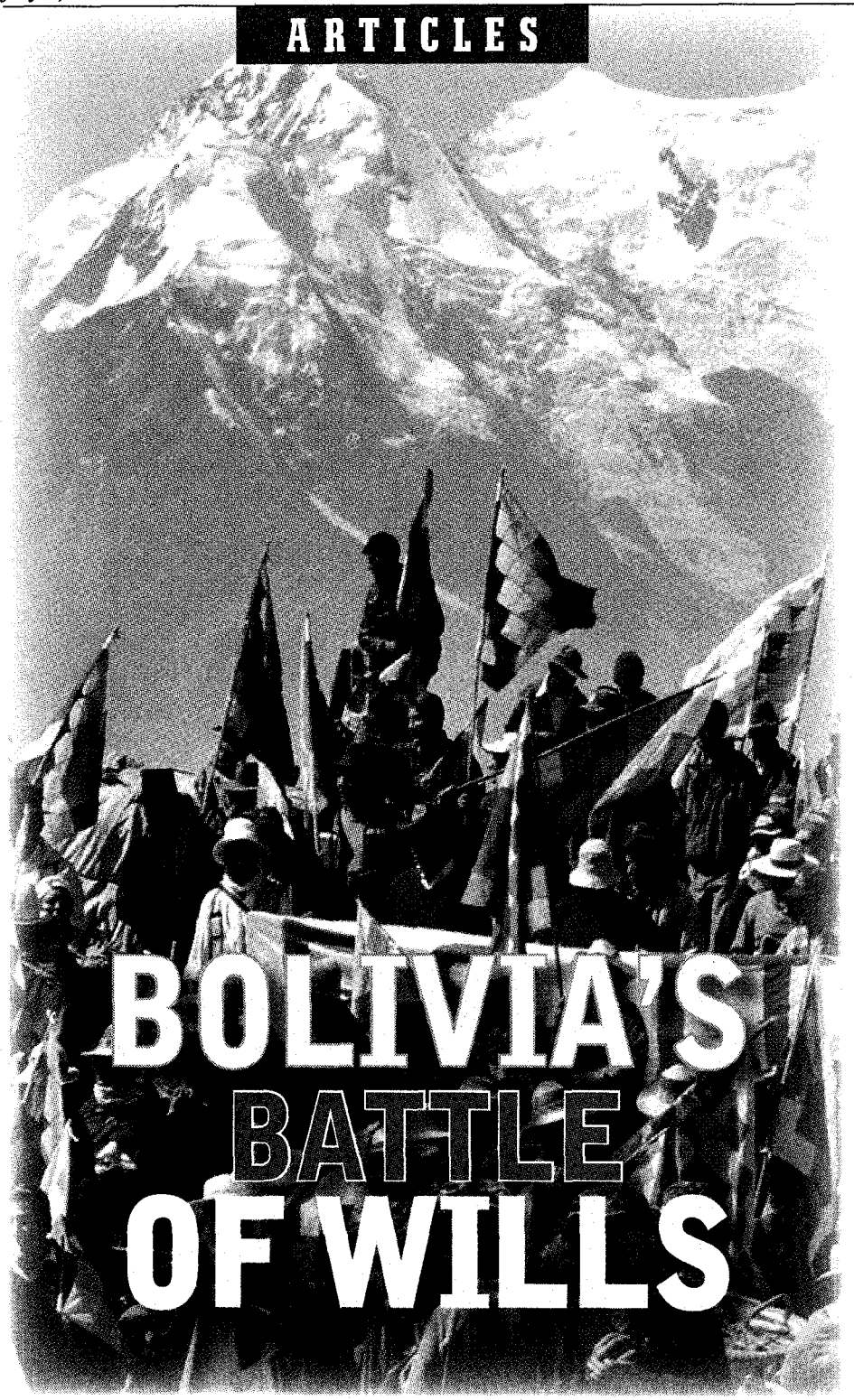
For fastest service call 1-800-333-8536

4HDK

Sam Waterson is a long-standing Nation reader.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ARTICLES



BOLIVIA'S BATTLE OF WILLS

by CHRISTIAN PARENTI

At a roadblock on the Bolivian altiplano, a group of indigenous tin miners in brown fiberglass helmets, their jaws bulging with coca leaves, lounge around on an empty strip of road. Suddenly the thin, high-altitude air shakes with a quick explosion. Everyone laughs. The comrades are killing time by tossing lit dynamite into a field. Tomorrow they will march across these high empty plains, through the sprawling, impoverished, majority Indian city of El Alto and over the edge of a steep canyon down into the capital of La Paz, and there lay siege to the government.

The miners have held this road for the past twenty-four hours. Both main arteries linking La Paz to the outside world are shut down. The Bolivian economy is beginning to sputter and stall; before long the restaurants, hotels and offices of the capital will start to run out of food and fuel; uncollected garbage will pile up in the streets. Soon six major cities will be sealed off by more than eighty blockades.

"The Congress is dominated by the transnational corporations. We are fighting to recover our natural resources. It is our right," says a stern miner named Miguel Sureta.

The social movements—a host of mostly indigenous organizations representing Aymara and Quechua peasants, miners, teachers, urban community organizations, coca growers and the oldest national labor federation—are demanding nationalization of the country's massive natural gas reserves, now estimated to be the second-largest in the hemisphere, at 53 trillion cubic feet. Their other plank is a constituent assembly to reformulate Bolivia's political system and give greater power to the majority indigenous population.

Throughout South America, center-left governments are taking power, with Uruguay and Ecuador being the latest to join the trend. Bolivia, home to some of the most well-organized and radical popular movements on the continent, could be next. But the challenges facing the Bolivian left are enormous: Despite all its strength, it is riven by ideological disputes, pervasive Quechua versus Aymara ethnic factionalism and the constant clash of leadership egos.

Meanwhile, the right is also mobilizing. European-descended elites in the gas-rich lowland provinces of Santa Cruz and Tarija are agitating for autonomy or possible secession. The major oil companies operating in Bolivia are all threatening disinvestment if the industry is restructured. There are also rumors of a possible military coup.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

On June 6 the centrist president, Carlos Mesa Gisbert, resigned. For a tense week it seemed the next president would be Hormando Vaca Díez, president of the Senate, a right-wing cattle rancher who warned that continued protest would "end in authoritarian government." But now Eduardo Rodriguez, head of the Supreme Court, has been sworn in as Bolivia's president. He is obliged to hold elections within six months.

The recently departed Mesa inherited his job in October 2003, the last time the issue of natural gas exploded. In that conflict his predecessor, then-president Gonzalo "Goni" Sánchez de Lozada, ordered troops to open fire on demonstrators. At least sixty-seven people were killed, and in the outrage that followed, Goni fled to the United States.

Back at the miners' blockade, three weeks before Mesa's resignation, nine trucks are sitting before a string of stones laid across the highway. In the center of this is a homemade bomb of dynamite, packed in a bottle full of pebbles. A few of the stranded drivers play soccer next to their vehicles.

'MAS is the only organization capable of [winning] elections. They're not corrupt and they're not fanatics,' says one journalist.

"With the blockades we all lose out," says Fernando Chavez, an Aymaran shepherd from the nearby village of Achica Arriba, where the miners have bivouacked. "The dynamite scares the children," he says, one eye on his flock of fifty sheep. "President Mesa should talk to all sectors."

In a truck called Rey de Reyes and painted with evangelical inscriptions sits Johny Miranda. He had dropped off a load of soybeans in Peru and was headed home to Cochabamba when he hit this barrier last night. If he tries to run the blockade, he says, the miners will slash his tires and destroy his truck. He doesn't support such tactics, but he wants the people to get more of the revenue from natural gas.

"Instead of blockades they should go right for the power, attack the gas fields and the Parliament," says Miranda. Within hours that's exactly what happens.

Crucial in all of this is the character of Evo Morales and his party, the Movement Toward Socialism (MAS). Morales is of mixed Aymaran and Quechuan descent and got his start as a coca farmer, or *cocalero*. He lost the last presidential election, in 2002, by only one percentage point. MAS is now the second-largest group in Parliament. But Morales is not the driving force behind Bolivia's social movements.

Most grassroots organizations in Bolivia are far more radical than the social democratic MAS. Morales originally called for a 50 percent royalty on foreign oil companies, while most of the movement wants 100 percent nationalization. This has caused Bolivian sociologist Carlos Crespo to describe Morales as "Lula-ized," and to call MAS "hierarchical" and just "a presidential vehicle." Antonio Peredo, a senior MAS senator, has a different critique of his party: "If we took power now we wouldn't last ten weeks. We're not ready." But neither is anyone else on the left, and as Alex Contreras, a radical Bolivian journalist, puts it, "MAS is the only organization capable of uniting enough factions to win elections. They're not corrupt and they're not fanatics. They're the only real option."

To find out what Morales thinks of the unfolding turmoil I track him down at the party offices in Cochabamba. Morales shows up late for the interview, a crowd of campesino activists, cooperative miners and two television crews in tow. He politely locks them out of his office and sits for the interview at a simple desk. Behind him hangs a *wiphala*, the square, rainbow-checked flag of indigenous self-determination. On other walls are posters bearing pictures of Che Guevara and Evo Morales himself.

How does MAS plan to win elections to be held before the end of this year? "We are the primary political force in the country. If there had been a runoff in 2002 we would have won," says Morales, as if victory had been almost assured. Not all agree with this assessment—many suspect that the traditional rightist parties would have united to smash MAS in a runoff.

When I press Morales on various issues—such as how to expand his base and reach out to Aymaran organizations that are now openly hostile to MAS, which is seen as heavily Quechuan—Morales is surprisingly reticent. He appears tired and distracted. What would the party do once in power? Morales says they would abolish a few ministries and create a few new ones that would better serve the poor. How will MAS woo the middle classes? "Who knows about the middle class, they are fickle," says Morales with an evasive grin. "Mesa is damaging the middle class. He can't walk in the streets now." Other than pointing out Mesa's faults, Morales seems to have no real plan for winning and using state power.

As for the famous Aymaran leader Felipe Quispe, who is one of Morales's main rivals, "sometimes we get along, sometimes we don't," says Morales. What are the biggest challenges MAS faces? "Political meddling from the United States." When I ask him about the difference between his call for 50 percent royalties and the increasingly popular demand for nationalization, he offers a contorted attempt to reconcile the two. "If we renegotiate all of these illegal contracts, and insure local community consultation on the new contracts, that is essentially nationalization."

A week later, when the airports have not yet been shut down, Morales and I end up on the same flight to La Paz. He can't remember our recent hourlong interview. I remind him of all the details; he looks at me with earnest, tired eyes but still can't remember. I am traveling with a colleague, Ryan Grim from *Slate*. Neither of us can decide whether Morales's total lack of pretense should be read as reassuring honesty or simple incompetence. After all, glad-handing journalists is Politics 101. As we take our seats in coach and Evo slides into first class, Grim leans over to me: "If you hear a loud bang and see a bright light, you know the CIA has gotten rid of the Evo Morales problem with a 'mysterious plane crash.'"

Christian Parenti, who writes frequently for The Nation, *is the author of* The Freedom: Shadows and Hallucinations in Occupied Iraq *(New Press).* *Research support for this article was provided by the Investigative Fund of The Nation Institute.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Canada Trumps USA:

Approves Cannabis-Based Medicine

On April 19, 2005, the Canadian government gave conditional approval to prescription sale of a medicine made from extracts of marijuana plants ingested as an oral spray.

While the US blocked privately-funded research, a British pharmaceutical company developed a cannabis extract spray that supplements existing non-smoking delivery systems such as vaporization.

The risks versus the benefits of alternative methods need to be established. But the US government is obstructing the science[1] because it fears the results will demonstrate an acceptable risk/benefit ratio even for smoked marijuana.

This research would be welcomed by the 14,600,000[2] Americans who currently use marijuana socially or medically.

It is time our officials take off their "drug war" blinders and recognize marijuana for what it is: a natural, relatively benign substance that can help bring relief to millions.

Common Sense for Drug Policy
www.CommonSenseDrugPolicy.org www.DrugWarFacts.org
www.AddictInTheFamily.org
Mike Gray, Chair; Robert Field, Co-Chair

1. For additional information, please visit www.maps.org/mmj/mmjfacility.html
2. 2003 www.drugabusestatistics.samhsa.gov/nhsda/2k3nsduh/2k3ResultsW.pdf Page 11

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The lowland jungle of the Chaparé region, a few hours east and downhill from Cochabamba, is where Morales got his start as a union leader among the *cocaleros*. Driving into the Chaparé on alternately paved and washed-out dirt roads, the jungle looms up—lush, wet and claustrophobic. The roadside villages are mildewed and feel broken down. The air is soft and full of oxygen, unlike planet La Paz at 13,000 feet.

The first white and mestizo settlers in this area were deserters from the Chaco War with Paraguay in the late 1930s. Disease whipped most of the local Yuki Indians. In the 1980s a new wave of immigrants arrived, pushed out of the highlands by the layoffs and deindustrialization of president Victor Paz Estenssoro's monetarist "new economic policy." To survive, the former miners and displaced highland Quechua campesinos turned to growing coca, some of which made its way to the legal market to be chewed as a mild stimulant and hunger suppressant but most of which was, and is, purchased by Colombia-connected drug traffickers who turn it into cocaine.

'The drug war is a political fight. It's about dismantling our union organizations,' says MAS party mayor Feliciano Mamani.

In many ways the first chapter in Bolivia's current season of political upheaval began here in the Chaparé during the 1990s, when the US-orchestrated drug war began targeting these new *cocaleros* and their openly socialist and *indígenista* trade unions. Known simply as the Six Federations, the *cocaleros*' unions function as a de facto state, mixing traditional Quechuan communitarian custom with more modern forms of political organizing. Though land is formally titled to individuals, it is really the Six Federations that collectively manage it. *Cocaleros* who do not cultivate their plots and refuse to participate in union and community struggles have their land repossessed and redistributed by the unions.

In the city hall of Villa Tunari, one of the damp little towns in the Chaparé, MAS party mayor Feliciano Mamani takes a break from meetings to explain the politics of the Chaparé. "The drug war is a political fight. It's about dismantling our union organizations," says Mamani, who came up through the ranks with Evo. "First they called us communists, then they called us narco-traffickers, now they call us terrorists."

To emphasize his point Mamani rolls up his pants to reveal his dented and blackened shin, where he took a canister of police tear gas five years ago. The wound exposed his bone and remained open and weeping until recently. As he explains the story of his injury, a gray Huey helicopter sweeps low and loud overhead.

For the past six years the Chaparé has been in the grip of a very-low-level guerrilla war and counterinsurgency: The military kills unarmed civilians, tortures detainees, uproots the *cocaleros*' crops and occasionally burns down their homesteads, while police and prosecutors jail union leaders and MAS officials on charges of drug trafficking and terrorism. So far, 150 MAS leaders have faced such charges, often based on evidence as flimsy as possession of coca or pamphlets by Che Guevara.

The *cocaleros* fight back with blockades, protests, roadside sniping, occasional abductions and homemade bombs hidden in the coca fields, set to kill the military eradication teams. According to Kathryn Ledebur of the Andean Information Network, an NGO that monitors human rights conditions in the Chaparé, the violence has claimed the lives of about sixty *cocaleros* and twenty soldiers since the conflict began, with hundreds more, mostly *cocaleros*, wounded and maimed. During my trip to the Chaparé two corpses show up: One is a possible snitch, found in the field of a local union leader.

The *cocaleros* claim that the drug war has only made them stronger, but I can't help getting the impression that MAS and the Six Federations would be better off if the United States were not giving the Bolivian police and military roughly $90 million every year to harass and prosecute rank-and-file activists.

Off one of the back roads, through some coca fields and up a dirt path lives Hilaria Perez, a Quechuan woman who was shot in the back by the military when they tore up her coca crop in 2003. The bullet went through her right lung, but she survived. She still farms coca and lives in a dark brick shack with her husband and four little children. Since the shooting, the Perezes have drifted from the union.

"I haven't been to a meeting in two months," says Hilaria's husband. To enforce participation, the unions—like all Bolivian social movements—impose fines on members who shirk their political duties such as attending meetings, marches and blockades. The new social movements fit the romantic activist's vision of a reinvented left in that they are "networked," highly democratic and rooted in indigenous forms of community decision-making. But politics in Bolivia are deadly serious, and the movements use subtle forms of coercion to bolster consent and to keep the cadre marching.

Despite the drug war and grinding poverty, MAS has run the local governments of the Chaparé remarkably well. Over the past decade they have practiced a type of Third World gas-and-water socialism, investing their meager budgets in an infrastructure of roads, schools and clinics.

To the left of Morales and MAS are myriad other organizations and leaders. One of the most important is the Aymaran nationalist and former guerrilla Felipe Quispe (*a k a* "El Mallku," the Condor), who now heads a large peasant union called the CSUTCB.

I meet Quispe in the CSUTCB's chilly and barren La Paz offices in a brick building with a round facade. He wears a dusty black fedora and a heavy leather jacket. His face is set in a permanent, take-no-crap frown. He begins the interview by offering a small pile of coca leaves and sweet herbs. Throughout the discussion he methodically strips the stems from the small leaves.

Quispe's worldview is nothing if not radical. Forget the presidency, the Parliament, the squabbles over gas royalties and tax rates. He sees a future indigenous nation run by a council of elders and encompassing Bolivia along with parts of Peru, Argentina and Chile. Quispe tried his hand at liberal democracy; he was a congressman from the indigenous party, MIP, but walked out, dismissing Parliament as a decadent talking shop.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The pharaohs were once exalted as gods. Professor Bob Brier brings them down to Earth.

From Tutankhamen to Cleopatra, now you can explore 30 centuries of Egyptian history in *Great Pharaohs of Ancient Egypt*, a 12-lecture series on disc or tape

All nations have icons—the American bald eagle, the cedars of Lebanon, the Eiffel Tower, Big Ben—but in Egypt, this icon was the king. For 3,000 years, the pharaoh smiting his enemy was the national symbol. Regarded as a god, the pharaoh could do whatever he wanted. If he decided a pyramid should be built, it was built! Because of this political structure, the nation could do great things.

Noted Egyptologist Bob Brier of Long Island University tells the story of Egypt through the lives of the pharaohs in this 12-lecture course designed for anyone interested in ancient Egyptian civilization. "What made Egypt great were the *people*—individuals who did great things," says Professor Brier. "By recounting the lives and accomplishments of the great ones of Egypt, we will present a history of Egypt spreading over 30 centuries."

Professor Brier has twice been selected as a Fulbright Scholar and has received LIU's David Newton Award for Teaching Excellence. He knows the ancient Egyptians—literally—from the inside out. In fact, in 1994, Dr. Brier became the first person in 2,000 years to mummify a human cadaver in the ancient Egyptian style. This research was the subject of a National Geographic television special, *Mr. Mummy*.

You will begin with Narmer, the first king of unified Egypt, and through his reign you will witness how the seeds of Egypt's greatness were sown around 3200 B.C. You will meet the pharaoh Sneferu, who perfected the art of building pyramids, and learn how his belief in life after death was intertwined with his building projects.

When you reach Queen Hatshepsut's reign, you will see that women had such incredible power in ancient Egypt that Hatshepsut could declare herself "king" and rule as pharaoh. The pharaoh Akhenaten was the first person recorded in history to say that there was but one god. His attempt to force the people of Egypt to give up their many gods almost destroyed the country. The life of Ramses the Great will show you what life in the Egyptian army was like.

Often, the fun of history is in the details. Knowing what kind of wine Tutankhamen preferred makes him come alive. Understanding that Ramses the Great was crippled by arthritis for the last decade of his long life may make you sympathetic to the monarch who boasted that he fathered 100 children.

Each pharaoh has his or her own fascinating story. You will learn about magic and mummification, hieroglyphs and art, farming and astronomy. By the time you come to the last ruler of Egypt, Cleopatra, you will have peered into almost every aspect of ancient Egyptian life, seen what made Egypt great, and discovered what finally brought about its downfall.

About The Teaching Company

We review hundreds of top-rated professors from America's best colleges and universities each year. From this extraordinary group, we choose only those rated highest by panels of our customers. Fewer than 10% of these world-class scholar-teachers are selected to make The Great Courses. We've been doing this since 1990, producing more than 2,000 hours of material in modern and ancient history, philosophy, literature, fine arts, the sciences, and mathematics for intelligent, engaged, adult lifelong learners. If a course is ever less than completely satisfying, you may exchange it for another or we will refund your money promptly.

Lecture Titles

1. King Narmer—The Unification of Egypt
2. Sneferu—The Pyramid Builder
3. Hatshepsut—Female Pharaoh
4. Akhenaten—Heretic Pharaoh
5. Tutankhamen—The Lost Pharaoh
6. Tutankhamen—A Murder Theory
7. Ramses the Great—The Early Years
8. Ramses the Great—The Twilight Years
9. The Great Nubians—Egypt Restored
10. Alexander the Great—Anatomy of a Legend
11. The First Ptolemies—Greek Greatness
12. Cleopatra—The Last Pharaoh

THE TEACHING COMPANY®
The Joy of Lifelong Learning Every Day™
GREAT PROFESSORS, GREAT COURSES, GREAT VALUE GUARANTEED.™

About Our Sale Price Policy

Why is the sale price for this course so much lower than its standard price? Every course we make goes on sale at least once a year. Producing large quantities of only the sale courses keeps costs down and allows us to pass the savings on to you. This approach also enables us to fill your order immediately: 99% of all orders placed by 2:00 p.m. eastern time ship that same day. Order before July 11, 2005 to receive these savings.

SAVE UP TO $160!
OFFER GOOD UNTIL JULY 11, 2005

1-800-TEACH-12 (1-800-832-2412)
Fax: 703-378-3819

Special offer is available online at
www.TEACH12.com/9ntn

The Great Courses®
THE TEACHING COMPANY®
4151 Lafayette Center Drive, Suite 100
Chantilly, VA 20151-1232

Priority Code 18856

Please send me **Great Pharaohs of Ancient Egypt**, which consists of twelve 30-minute lectures, with complete lecture outlines.

- ☐ **DVD $39.95** (std. price $199.95) **SAVE $160!** plus $5 shipping, handling, and lifetime satisfaction guarantee.
- ☐ **Audio CD $24.95** (std. price $134.95) **SAVE $110!** plus $5 shipping, handling, and lifetime satisfaction guarantee.
- ☐ **Audiotape $19.95** (std. price $89.95) **SAVE $70!** plus $5 shipping, handling, and lifetime satisfaction guarantee.
- ☐ **Check or Money Order enclosed**

Special price for shipping, handling, and lifetime satisfaction guarantee—this offer only.

* Non-U.S. Orders: Additional shipping charges apply. Call or visit the FAQ page at our website for details.
**Virginia residents please add 5% sales tax.

Charge my credit card:

☐ VISA ☐ ☐ ☐

ACCOUNT NUMBER EXP. DATE

SIGNATURE

NAME (PLEASE PRINT)

MAILING ADDRESS

CITY/STATE/ZIP

PHONE *(If we have questions regarding your order—required for international orders)*

☐ **FREE CATALOG.** Please send me a free copy of your current catalog (no purchase necessary).

Special offer is available online at www.TEACH12.com/9ntn

Offer Good Through: July 11, 2005

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"My mother was a slave," says Quispe with a blunt stare. Indeed, many indigenous Bolivians were serfs, tied to the land they worked until 1946. "I am accustomed to living dirty. Eating simple food. How much money do those pigs in Congress spend? One deputy could pay the salary of ten or twelve teachers. While I was there my brethren continued to live in poverty. The deputies are supposed to start work at 8 but show up at 11." He strips and chews more coca.

Quispe insists his vision of an Aymaran nation is not atavistic or fanciful. "We want technology; we will have relations with other countries." And as for white people?

"The foreigners can stay as long as we get 90 percent of the power. If not, there will be war. But the foreigners will have a hard time here. They don't own any land. We don't want to exterminate white people. We just want power."

As for Evo Morales's more mundane quest to be president, Quispe is dismissive. "Evo is like [President Alejandro] Toledo in Peru. Nothing will change for the Indians if he is president." Getting back to the big picture, he sums up: "We will rewrite history with our own blood. There will be a new sun, and even the rocks and the trees will be happy."

The blockades have started to lift, but Bolivia is still locked in stalemate; the core issues are unresolved and the path forward unclear.

Another radical, but pragmatic, vision comes out of the Cochabamba Water War of 2000, in which Bechtel's privatization bid was defeated. Oscar Olivera is one of the most respected local leaders in this region, known for his humility, honesty and hard work. Like many others he sees elections and the quest for state power as distractions.

"We need self-management," says Olivera. "That is what we are trying to do with the water company here." Later I tour the outlying self-managed water districts. As in the Chaparé, the movements here function as a de facto government and do so with remarkable efficiency.

But what about Bolivian elections in a hemispheric context—doesn't Olivera think adding another country to Latin America's new left bloc is important? He pauses, then almost apologetically says, "It's true. We become very regionalized and localized here in Bolivia and do not think about the wider context much. Maybe we should."

And how would self-management work in relation to a highly complex oil and gas industry? In El Alto, some activists with the powerful neighborhood organization FEJUVE tell me of plans to occupy and "self-manage" the gas fields. But later the head of the engineering and technicians' organization supporting them says that such occupations would not involve pumping and selling gas.

It's late May, and week two of protests is under way. A general strike has been called. At a huge march descending from El Alto to La Paz I meet a young street vendor named Ricardo. He supports nationalization, but adds: "If I didn't march I would be fined by the union. The union controls everything—where you can sell, if you can sell."

When some of his fellow merchants find a few street stalls still active in La Paz, they knock down the offending merchants' umbrellas. The laggards quickly close up. "We are fighting for everyone's rights," says one of the stick-wielding women merchants. "They have to respect that."

The next day the cadre of the CSUTCB, along with miners, teachers and landless peasants from the Movimiento Sin Tierra, march down from El Alto. In typical highland dress of heavy jackets, bowlers and felt hats and bearing sticks, pipes, shepherds' whips and the colorful *wiphalas*, the weather-beaten columns of Aymara farmers move fast through the narrow streets of old La Paz, occasionally tossing dynamite down empty streets for effect. Their destination is Plaza Murillo, where the Congress and the presidential palace sit. Nervous police in riot gear have blockaded all the key entry points.

The marchers smash in the windows of the few minibuses that have ignored the strike. A journalist appears on a balcony with a camera. Rocks are let loose and just miss his head as he ducks back inside. These rugged peasants are furious—it's been 500 years, and the bill is due.

At a standoff with police there is some yelling in Aymaran, and people back away. Someone tosses a small charge of dynamite in front of the cops, who fall back and block the blast with their Plexiglas shields. The police answer with volleys of tear gas and shotguns firing rubber bullets. Ryan Grim and I sprint with the crowd up a narrow colonial side lane, sucking in the harsh gas as we go. Rubber bullets ricochet through the toxic clouds. One catches Grim in the back and we get separated in the mayhem. Hours later the police and protesters clash again. This time the gas is extremely thick. It's like drowning on dry land. The streets are cramped and chaotic.

The next day brings more of the same. Protesters and journalists rely on the Bolivian remedy for tear gas: smoking cigarettes. Strangely, this actually cuts the effect of mild gassing. At one point, when we are standing among cops with a few other journalists, a man uphill tosses what looks like a potato down toward the police lines. The cops scatter. The potato detonates in the biggest dynamite blast yet. The collision of air is deafening; windows shatter up and down the block. The cops regroup and fire more gas and rubber bullets.

The battle goes on like this for three weeks, with La Paz and most of Bolivia's other major cities blockaded, with food and fuel running low, the buses and taxis idled. Seven gas fields and a pipeline station are seized. Before bowing out, Mesa agreed to take the first steps toward a constituent assembly; the new president, Eduardo Rodriguez, will have to organize emergency elections. The blockades have just now started to lift but Bolivia is still locked in stalemate; the core issues are unresolved and the path forward unclear.

Many in the social movements dismiss elections as a trap; they attempt to go around the machinery of government by turning protest into what Oscar Olivera calls self-management, and they critique Evo Morales and MAS for being fixated on the presidency. But making radical demands on the old political class is insufficient. Nationalization and a reconstruction of the political order are projects so massive that they may require the left to take power, ready or not. ■

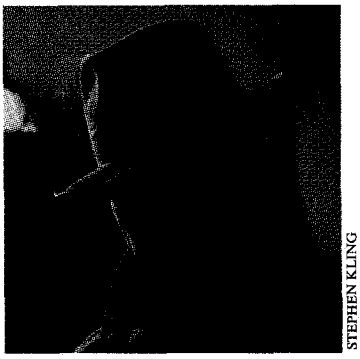
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

DEEP THROAT SURVIVED—PERHAPS BECAUSE HE WAS ASSIGNED TO INVESTIGATE HIMSELF.

How Mark Felt Fooled the FBI

DAVID CORN AND JEFF GOLDBERG

The recent dramatic revelation about W. Mark Felt—the former top FBI man who has confessed to being Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein's secret source during the Watergate scandal—has yielded what seems to be the final chapter in the Deep Throat saga, and thus the conclusion to a three-decade-long whodunit rich in detail, psychology and irony.



STEPHEN KLING

But Felt's role as the most famous anonymous source in US history was even more complex and intrigue-loaded than the newly revised public account suggests. According to originally confidential FBI documents—some written by Felt—that were obtained by *The Nation* from the FBI's archives, Felt played another heretofore unknown part in the Watergate tale: He was, at heated moments during the scandal, in charge of finding the source of Woodward and Bernstein's Watergate scoops. In a twist worthy of le Carré, Deep Throat was assigned the mission of unearthing—and stopping—Deep Throat.

This placed Felt, who as the FBI's associate director oversaw the bureau's Watergate probe, in an unusual position. He was essentially in charge of investigating himself. From this vantage point Felt, who had developed espionage skills running FBI counterintelligence operations against German spies in World War II, was able to watch his own back and protect his ability to guide the two reporters whose exposés would help topple the President he served.

Felt at different points became an FBI plumber—in the parlance of the Nixon White House, a "plumber" was an operative who took care of leaks—even though he was the number-one leaker. He was in the perfect spot to deflect any accusations that might implicate him and to misdirect suspicion. And when President Nixon and his top aides became convinced that Felt was a key source for the *Washington Post*—they still couldn't touch him, because of what he knew about their skulduggery.

The Felt memos do not cover the entire time period (from right after the June 17, 1972, break-in at the Democratic National Committee headquarters to November 1973) during which Felt assisted Woodward. But when placed alongside the recent disclosure and the previously available accounts—most notably, the Woodward and Bernstein book *All the President's Men*; Felt's 1979 memoir, *The FBI Pyramid* (in which he denied he was Deep Throat); and the Nixon White House tapes—these memos (snapshots from inside Felt's world) significantly expand and shift the view that historians and the public now have of the unique, secret space Felt occupied during Watergate.

Immediately after the June break-in, Woodward covered the arraignment of the five burglars. Two days later he called Felt, whom he had been cultivating as a mentor and contact for two years. Woodward had gotten a clue from Watergate burglar Bernard Barker's seized address book that Howard Hunt of the White House might have been involved in the break-in. He was hoping that Felt could confirm his suspicion about Hunt, or steer him off if he was wrong. Felt reported that Hunt was definitely involved in the burglary. He added that things were going to "heat up." Later that day, a nervous Felt assured Woodward that "the FBI regarded Hunt as a prime suspect in the Watergate investigation for many reasons." Thus, Felt had a hand in the first *Post* front-page story that tied the White House to the break-in.

From June to early September, Woodward and Bernstein produced more than twenty Watergate-related stories based on interviews with a variety of confidential sources. In *All the President's Men* Woodward and Bernstein are vague about Woodward's meetings with Felt that summer. The two rendezvoused at a parking garage in Rosslyn, Virginia. Felt's guidance was fairly general. At one meeting he said that "the FBI badly wanted to know where the *Post* was getting its information." He warned Woodward and Bernstein "to take care when using their telephones" and to be aware that they "might be followed." He advised that the White House was very worried.

But in the summer of 1972, the White House already suspected that someone in the bureau was leaking to the *Post* (though it's unclear whether Felt was providing Woodward the information causing this suspicion). Woodward and Bernstein often cited "sources close to the investigation" or "federal sources" in their stories. White House officials presumed this mainly meant FBI officials, who were the primary investigators. FBI Acting Director L. Patrick Gray—who had been appointed by Nixon immediately after J. Edgar Hoover's sudden death in May—was cooperating with the White House to thwart a full FBI investigation, and the White House was pressuring him to shut off the various leaks to the media. According to FBI records, Gray held a meeting to chastise angrily all of the twenty-seven FBI field agents working on Watergate and told them not to talk to the press.

The *Post*'s stories continued, and Gray, responding to White House pressure, assembled an intimidating FBI inspection team to question these same agents. Felt later wrote: "When that did not stop the leaks, he [Gray] ordered Assistant Director Charles Bates [head of the FBI's criminal division] to personally grill the men under oath." And when Gray was out of town, White House counsel John Dean would call Felt and

David Corn is The Nation*'s Washington editor. Jeff Goldberg is an author and independent television producer of documentaries for PBS, BBC and the Discovery Channel.* *Research support was provided by the Investigative Fund of The Nation Institute.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

demand that he stop the leaks. In one instance in late June, Felt, already helping the *Post*, ordered an investigation of whether any FBI official had leaked information to the Washington *Daily News*, but that inquiry produced nothing.

Through the summer of 1972, no one at the White House yet suspected Felt, according to the public record; but it was reasonable for him to fear the Nixon team was focusing on him, Bates, their underlings and the agents working on the Watergate case—the people with direct knowledge of the investigation.

On Saturday, September 9, the *Post* ran a major page-one story by Woodward and Bernstein reporting that federal sources were indicating that the Watergate criminal investigation was now "completed"—"without implicating any present officials of either the White House or the Committee to Re-elect President Nixon." FBI agents, the story added, were not being allowed to investigate allegations involving illegal campaign contributions to Nixon. (In *All the President's Men* there is no indication that Woodward spoke to Felt while preparing this story.) Two days later, in response to that article, Felt wrote a one-page memo to Assistant Director Bates that had at least two purposes. One was to make sure that senior officials inside the bureau understood that the FBI's investigation, despite the *Post*'s claim, was not finished. The other was to suggest that Woodward and Bernstein might have been receiving secret FBI information from someone outside the FBI. Deep Throat was shrewdly taking this opportunity to direct suspicion toward another Woodward and Bernstein leaker.

'If we move on [Felt], he'll go out and unload everything.'
—H.R. Haldeman, talking to Nixon

In the September 11, 1972, memo, Felt noted that the county prosecutor in Miami, Richard Gerstein, might be the *Post*'s main source. Gerstein was investigating how a $25,000 check from Nixon's campaign had ended up in the account of a Watergate burglar. Felt wrote: "It appears that much of the information which has been leaked to the press may have come from [Dade] County Prosecutor Gerstein in Florida." To search for the *Post*'s leaker(s), Felt instructed the FBI's Special Agent-in-Charge (SAC) in Miami to interview every FBI official who had been in contact with Gerstein. Felt also expressed concern in the memo that the *Post* reporters had obtained information directly from an FBI report (called a "302") based on an official interview with a Watergate conspirator. Felt wrote, "I personally contacted [Washington] SAC [Robert] Kunkel [who was supervising the agents probing Watergate] to point out that it appeared the *Washington Post* or at least a reporter had access to the...302. I told him he should forcibly remind all agents of the need to be most circumspect in talking about this case with anyone outside the Bureau."

In retrospect, Felt's memo looks like an attempt to convince Pat Gray and other senior officials at the bureau that he was on top of the leak issue. But the leak probe he had triggered in Miami was a wild goose chase. A county prosecutor could not be the type to supply inside information to Woodward and Bernstein about the FBI's Watergate probe. (In late July Bernstein had obtained information from Gerstein about the suspicious bank transactions, but nothing about the federal investigations in Washington.) No FBI leakers were ever found via the Miami inquiry Felt orchestrated.

In the week after he wrote that memo, Felt broke his own admonition about discussing the investigation with people outside the bureau. According to *All the President's Men*, in two phone calls with Woodward he confirmed that two top campaign aides to former Attorney General John Mitchell (Nixon's close confidant who had suddenly resigned as his campaign manager on July 1) had been in charge of the campaign money that financed the Watergate break-in, that these funds also supported "other intelligence-gathering activities" and that these same aides had seen wiretap logs from the Watergate bugging. So while the FBI officials in Miami, spurred on by Felt, were busy trying to plug the supposed leak to the *Post* with a going-nowhere investigation, Felt was handing page-one information to Woodward. He was not just a high-level leaker or undercover whistleblower. He was a master manipulator. (Whether Felt had accomplices within the FBI, as has been alleged recently by former FBI agent Paul Daly, remains a matter of speculation, especially since the main suspects—Kunkel, Bates and another assistant director—are dead.)

At one point (probably in the early phase of Watergate), Felt even met officially with Woodward—in what appears to have been another move to cover himself. In his 1979 memoir—in which he declared, "I never leaked information to Woodward and Bernstein or to anyone else!"—Felt noted that he spoke to Woodward "on one occasion." He claimed that after Woodward requested an interview, he agreed to see him; Felt then asked his assistant, Wason Campbell, a senior-level, twenty-five-year-veteran FBI agent, to be present "to make sure what I said would not be misquoted." In this account, Woodward "was not looking for information." He "simply wanted" Felt to confirm information he and Bernstein already had obtained. "I declined to cooperate with him in this manner," Felt wrote, "and that was that." It now seems obvious that Felt (probably with Woodward's cooperation) staged this meeting to make it look as if Felt was not assisting Woodward. (Perhaps Woodward will explain this in his forthcoming book on Deep Throat.)

Today Campbell, retired since 1974, is in the advanced stages of Alzheimer's and has no memory of those days. His wife, Mary, told *The Nation* that whenever the subject of Felt and Deep Throat came up in the post-Watergate years, her husband never indicated he believed Felt could have been this source. "I am sure that Wason never knew it," she says. "He's not that good an actor. Mark was able to keep this a secret from his assistant."

Unbeknownst to Felt, Nixon and his chief of staff, H.R. Haldeman, began talking about him in the White House weeks after Felt wrote that September 11, 1972, memo. In a taped conversation on October 19, Nixon complained to Haldeman that Gray could not stop the media leaks. Haldeman told Nixon that Felt had been identified as the primary leaker—but they could not do anything about it. Haldeman explained: "If we move on him, he'll go out and unload everything. He knows everything that's to be known in the FBI."

Continuing the conversation, Nixon asked, "What would you

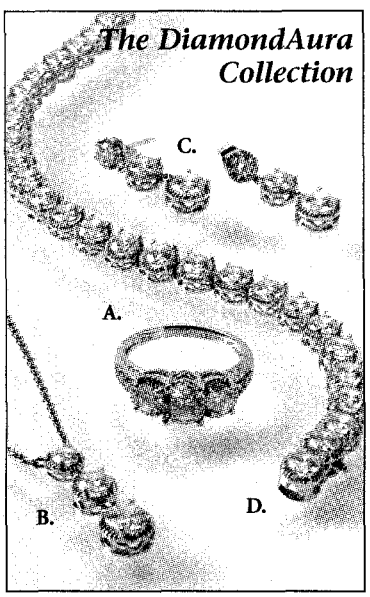
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Brains Conquer Beauty

Scientists break code to create perfect gemstones with even more fire and brilliance than mined diamonds.

There is little doubt that a natural mined diamond of top quality is one of the world's most magnificent gems. It is much coveted for its exquisite beauty, but the simple truth is that diamonds are simply compressed crystallized carbon. The laboratories at Diamond*Aura* were created with one mission in mind: *Design classic jewelry with the scientifically perfect gemstones at a cost that lets everyone experience a stone with more fire and brilliance than a mined diamond.*

Perfection from the laboratory. We named our gemstones Diamond*Aura*, because simply said, "they dazzle just like natural diamonds but without the outrageous cost." Our Diamond*Auras* are an absolute marvel of modern gemological science. We insisted that our scientists reproduce the look of a natural mined diamond, in the laboratory, and would not accept any result other than perfection. We will not bore you with the incredible details of the scientific process, but will only say; it involves the use of natural occurring minerals heated to an incredibly high temperature (5000 ° F), which can only be accomplished inside some very modern and very expensive laboratory equipment. After several additional steps and considerably more time, our scientists have finally created a gemstone that looks even better than the vast majority of mined diamonds. Frankly, each time we see one we have difficulty believing the result ourselves. Noted jewelry expert, Steven Rosensky said that the color and clarity of Diamond*Aura* rivals that of a flawless D colored diamond. Of course flawless diamonds sell for in excess of $50,000 a carat, so they are priced out of reach. Only experienced diamond appraisers, utilizing the proper instruments, are able to make the distinction between a flawless natural diamond and a scientifically perfect Diamond*Aura*.



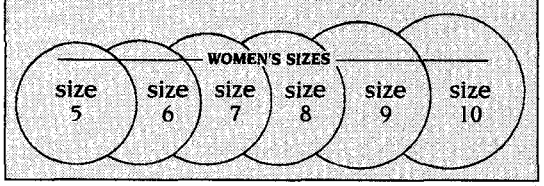
The 4 C's. Our Diamond*Aura* stones have it all: color, clarity, cut, and carat weight. All the essential components that comprise a top quality naturally mined diamond are present in an exquisite Diamond*Aura*. In purely scientific measurement terms, the refractory characteristics of Diamond*Aura* are actually superior to a diamond and they will both cut glass. The color and the clarity of a Diamond*Aura* are laboratory reproduced to simulate the world's most perfect diamonds.

The cut, of primary importance for any top quality gemstone, is artistically performed by our team of experienced gemstone cutters, and the carat weight is made available to you in the entire range of most desired sizes. Finally, we employ the most talented jewelry designers to provide our customers with the dazzling elegant styles that we proudly offer. Once you have had the opportunity to wear your Diamond*Aura*, you will understand why it is just like a natural diamond in almost every way.

Rock solid guarantee. Every Diamond*Aura* stone is mounted in platinum plated sterling silver. We believe this setting brings out the perfect color and clarity of the stones. Try the Diamond*Aura* gemstones risk-free for 30 days. If for any reason you are not satisfied with your Diamond*Aura* purchase or you experience any defects in the stones, please just return it to us for a full refund of the purchase price.

If you prefer something less perfect, you could buy a natural low quality diamond like many jewelry stores offer and still pay much more.

Place one of your own rings on top of one of the circles. Your ring size is the circle that matches the diameter of the inside of your ring. If your ring falls between sizes, order the next larger size.



Not Available in Stores

Call now to take advantage of this limited offer.

Diamond*Aura*

A. 3-Stone Ring (1.78 ctw)
(whole sizes 5-10) **$99.95** +S&H

B. 3-Stone Necklace (1.58 ctw) **$99.95** +S&H
C. 3-Stone Earrings (3.16 ctw) **$99.95** +S&H
D. Tennis Bracelet (14.0 ctw) **$199.95** +S&H

800-937-4400

Promotional Code DAJ126-01

Please mention this when you call.
To order by mail, please call for details.

Stauer
14101 Southcross Drive W.,
Dept. DAJ126-01
Burnsville, Minnesota 55337
www.stauer.com

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

do with Felt?" Haldeman replied that he had been advised by Dean that Felt could not be prosecuted. "The bastard," Nixon called him. Later that afternoon, Nixon asked, "What's the conveyor belt for Felt?" "The *Post*," Haldeman replied. He explained that an unnamed "legal guy" for the *Post*, who formerly worked at the Justice Department or FBI, had contacted an official in Nixon's Justice Department because he was "deeply concerned" about the FBI leaks to Woodward and Bernstein, and this person maintained that Felt was leaking to the *Post*. The Justice Department official slipped the information to Dean, who told Haldeman. The next day, Nixon told Haldeman he was most worried because Felt knew all about the incriminating clandestine operations that senior aide John Ehrlichman had supervised for the White House. The Nixon gang had in a way pegged Felt as a leaker. But years after *All the President's Men* was published, in 1974, and the character Deep Throat was created, Haldeman instead mistakenly fingered Fred Fielding, Dean's assistant, as Deep Throat, and Dean proposed a variety of candidates other than Felt. "It was right under our nose," Dean sighed to *The Nation*.

Felt continued to assist Woodward during the last three months of 1972; they met four times in the garage in Rosslyn and spoke once on the phone. In those conversations, Felt provided extensive information on Nixon's "dirty tricks" campaign—which went beyond Watergate—and the cover-up, and he urged Woodward on. In early January Gray confronted Felt with the first direct accusation that Felt was the *Post*'s covert source. As Felt wrote in his memoir, Gray warned him that Attorney General Richard Kleindienst, a Nixon loyalist who had replaced John Mitchell, had said to Gray that Felt might have to be fired. The reason, Gray explained, was that Kleindienst "says White House staff members are convinced that you are the FBI source of leaks to Woodward and Bernstein." Felt wrote that he replied, "Pat, I haven't leaked anything to anybody. They are wrong!" Gray responded that he believed Felt, "but the White House doesn't." Gray, according to Felt, stood up for Felt, telling Kleindienst that Felt was "very competent" and "completely loyal," and that he was not going to remove him. A few weeks later Nixon complained to Gray that Felt had to be removed because he was still suspected of leaking. He told Gray to have Felt "take a lie detector test." Gray countered that Felt was the innocent victim of a "gossip mill" at the FBI. Subsequently, Gray never ordered Felt to be polygraphed; he remained loyal to his number two. Felt had dodged a bullet.

Meanwhile, in late January, when Felt met Woodward again late at night in the parking garage, he revealed that the FBI had confirmed that Charles Colson, Nixon's special counsel, had played an "active" role in the burglars' illegal activities. "Colson and Mitchell were behind the Watergate operation," Felt said. Afterward, Woodward and Bernstein debated whether to publish a story. Bernstein was eager, but Woodward wanted to wait until they could better document the information.

Then, on February 21, Woodward and Bernstein wrote a page-one story linking Colson to the operations of the so-called "plumbers"—the secret White House/Nixon campaign team specializing in targeting leaks and spying, bugging and break-ins. In that article, Woodward and Bernstein cited "sources close to the Watergate investigation," "Department of Justice sources," "Federal sources," "Republican sources" and Colson's secret testimony given to "federal investigators" (meaning the FBI).

Responding to a request from Attorney General Kleindienst, Gray ordered another investigation to uncover Woodward and Bernstein's sources. And he handed the job to Felt. This was a bizarre decision, given Kleindienst's and Nixon's earlier fears that Felt was leaking. Once more, Felt was on his own trail. He wrote a memo to his subordinate ordering a full and immediate investigation. Given Felt's secret role as Deep Throat, his memorandum was full of irony and dissembling:

> As you know, Woodward and Bernstein have written numerous articles about Watergate. While their stories have contained much fiction and half truths, they have frequently set forth information which they attribute to Federal investigators, Department of Justice sources, and FBI sources. We know that they were playing games with the case agent in the Washington Field Office trying to trick him into giving them bits of information. On balance and despite the fiction, there is no question that they have access to sources either in the FBI or in the Department of Justice.

Acting Director Gray, Felt wrote, "has instructed that you immediately institute an analysis of this article to determine those portions which could have come from FBI sources and in such instances to set forth the persons having access to that particular bit of information."

Felt was going through the appropriate motions. Did he wonder if such an analysis would point to him? Was he confident that his underlings wouldn't catch on or that they wouldn't dare suspect—or cast suspicion upon—their boss? Did he have a plan for what to do if the net closed in?

Later that same day, a detailed four-page reply was sent to Felt that reviewed all the *Post* article's possible sources. It concluded there were alternative sources, besides FBI personnel, for everything reported. The analysis did not mention any FBI sources as potential leakers. Felt routinely forwarded this analysis to Gray. Two days later, Gray sent a memo to Kleindienst suggesting that possible sources for the leak were the US Attorney's office in Washington and a White House official. The inquiry Felt launched ended up leading not to Felt but to possible leakers at the Justice Department and 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue.

No sooner was the latest leak investigation finished than Felt was again feeding information to Woodward. On February 25, Felt and Woodward met in a bar. Felt cautioned Woodward to be careful and patient, noting that the White House was now very concerned that the full story would soon come out. Inside the White House, meanwhile, Nixon and his men were indeed worrying that Felt could on his own bring them down. In a taped conversation on February 28, Nixon asked Dean what would happen if "Felt comes out and unwraps the whole thing." Then Nixon answered himself: "Everybody would treat him like a pariah." Dean agreed: "He can't do it."

Woodward and Felt spoke briefly by phone twice in April, with Felt giving advance warning of the bombshell announcement that Dean and Haldeman would soon resign. (Ehrlichman and Kleindienst left with them.) And on April 27 Gray resigned

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

from the FBI after disastrous confirmation hearings (and after the press reported he had burned Hunt's secret office papers at the behest of Ehrlichman and Dean). Nixon quickly named William Ruckelshaus, then head of the Environmental Protection Agency, to be the new acting FBI director.

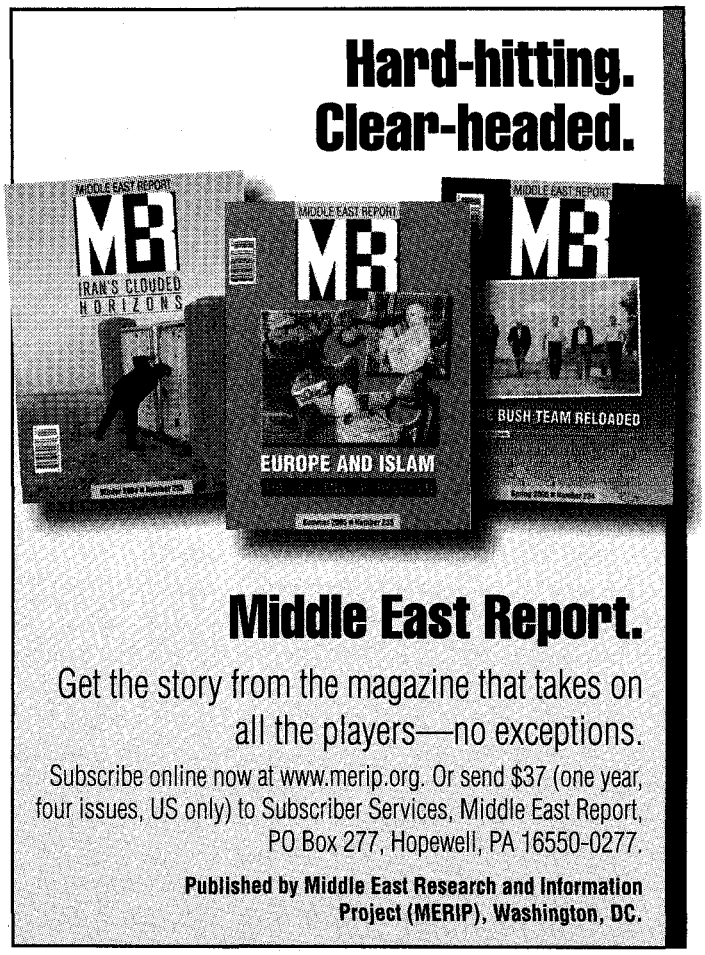
Ruckelshaus, who wanted to reform the bureau, and Felt, the leader of the pro-Hoover faction at headquarters, clashed immediately. Meanwhile, Nixon was still fretting about Felt. On May 11 Nixon, who was now politically wounded by Watergate, expressed his frustration to his new chief of staff, Alexander Haig. They believed Felt had leaked damaging information, but they could not expose him. "We've got to be careful as to when to cut his nuts off," Haig said. Nixon responded: "He's bad." The next day Nixon told Haig that Felt was a "goddamn traitor." "Just watch him damned carefully," Nixon added. He said that he would let the "new man"—Ruckelshaus—"clean house" at the FBI. Presumably, that would take care of the Felt problem.

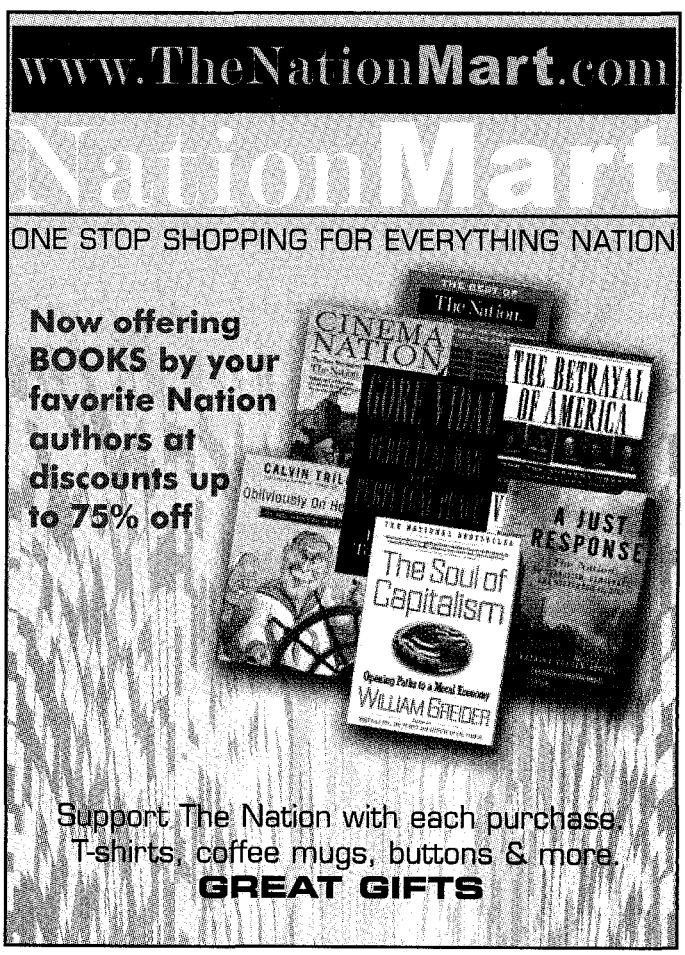
On May 16 Felt and Woodward met briefly in the garage; it was the night before the Senate Watergate hearings were to begin. Felt hurriedly delivered an apocalyptic message full of new allegations and warnings: "everyone's life is in danger"; watch out for "electronic surveillance" by the CIA; Nixon had threatened Dean with jail; the list of Mitchell's illegal activities was "longer than anyone could imagine"; Nixon had been blackmailed by Hunt; Nixon ordered the CIA to cover-up Watergate; the cover-up had cost about $1 million; Dean has detailed documents; and much more. Woodward departed stunned.

After further conflict with Ruckelshaus—during which the new director accused Felt of leaking to the press to undermine Ruckelshaus and to position himself to become director—Felt left the bureau on June 22, 1973, ending thirty-two years with the FBI. According to the book *FBI* by Sanford Ungar, he retired to a home boasting an elaborate collection of Hoover memorabilia, and he went on to lecture at colleges, where he would decry Gray's mishandling of the Watergate investigation. He was also subjected to an FBI investigation looking for inside-the-bureau leakers. But that endeavor did not amount to much; Felt dismissed it as a "tempest in a teapot."

By Woodward's account, Felt met with the reporter only one more time during Watergate, in early November 1973, when Felt told Woodward there were "deliberate erasures" on the White House tapes.

Woodward and Felt kept Felt's identity as Deep Throat a secret for more than three decades. The pre-revelation account of Deep Throat's derring-do (*All the President's Men*) and the recent stories about Felt's days as Deep Throat do not convey all that Felt had to do to survive during Watergate. He was much more than a secret sharer. He was an operator. Nixon, Dean, Haldeman, Mitchell, Kleindienst and Haig—they were all dead-on correct in suspecting Felt of being a chief source for Woodward and Bernstein. But he actively engaged in bureaucratic ploys so he could come across as the loyal soldier and cover his tracks. His cunning worked. He fooled Pat Gray. Nixon never came after him. And this clever bureaucrat continued to do exactly what Nixon feared: tell Woodward and Bernstein secrets that would help destroy a presidency. ■


Hard-hitting.
Clear-headed.
MIDDLE EAST REPORT
MER
IRAN'S CLOUDED HORIZONS
EUROPE AND ISLAM
BUSH TEAM RELOADED
Middle East Report.
Get the story from the magazine that takes on all the players—no exceptions.
Subscribe online now at www.merip.org. Or send $37 (one year, four issues, US only) to Subscriber Services, Middle East Report, PO Box 277, Hopewell, PA 16550-0277.
Published by Middle East Research and Information Project (MERIP), Washington, DC.


www.TheNationMart.com
NationMart
ONE STOP SHOPPING FOR EVERYTHING NATION
Now offering BOOKS by your favorite Nation authors at discounts up to 75% off
CINEMA NATION
THE BETRAYAL OF AMERICA
The Soul of Capitalism
WILLIAM GREIDER
Support The Nation with each purchase.
T-shirts, coffee mugs, buttons & more.
GREAT GIFTS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

COMMENT

(Continued From Page 8)

that Lindh had to have a lawyer at his interrogation, I disclosed the e-mails to *Newsweek*, an action permitted by the Whistleblower Protection Act—believing that Justice would not have the temerity to make public statements contradicted by its own court filings. When wrong things are being done before your eyes, when you're an unwilling or unwitting participant, when your complaints through internal channels fall on deaf ears and when the agency itself is part of the problem—as in both Felt's experience and mine (Felt was troubled that President Nixon blatantly interfered with the FBI's investigation of the Democratic Party headquarters burglary and used the FBI for political purposes; I was bothered by Ashcroft's willingness to cut legal corners in terrorism prosecutions)—then a free and independent press is a legally recognized way to blow the whistle.

As a result of my doing so, the Justice Department told my new law firm that I was a "criminal" and leaned on them to fire me. I was placed under criminal investigation for sixteen months, for what reason I was never told; the case was closed with no charges ever brought. I was referred to the state bars in which I am licensed as an attorney, based on a secret report to which I did not have access. After more than a year, the Maryland bar dismissed the charges; the DC bar charges are still pending. And if all of this were not enough punishment, I find myself on the "no-fly" list.

This is why I am surprised that Felt "outed" himself. Although his family hails him, correctly, as a "great American hero," it didn't take an hour for the opposition machinery to kick into high gear, with Chuck Colson denouncing him for "violating his oath to keep this nation's secrets" and G. Gordon Liddy saying he "behaved unethically." What most media outlets neglected to mention is that Colson and Liddy were convicted for their involvement in Nixon's "dirty tricks." Whistleblowers are stereotyped as disgruntled employees, troublemakers and snitches. The conscientious employee is often portrayed as vengeful, unstable or out for attention. I have not been completely immune from such accusations, but the terms that have been used to describe me are far more incendiary: "traitor," "turncoat" and "terrorist sympathizer."

It should not be a question of whether to blow the whistle but of how loud to blow it, and employees should not have to choose between their conscience and their career. As Seymour Hersh said to me, "There may be no truth, but there will always be history." I just hope I don't have to wait thirty years. JESSELYN RADACK

Jesselyn Radack teaches, writes and speaks about legal ethics in Washington, DC, and maintains a website at www.cradl.info.

HAPPY 100TH, IWW: On June 27, 1905, William "Big Bill" Haywood exhorted an audience in Chicago's Brand Hall to organize one big union, seize the means of production and emancipate the workers of the world "from the slave bondage of capitalism." The convention went on to found the Industrial Workers of the World, *a k a* the Wobblies. The IWW grew rapidly before being crushed by the Wilson Administration, which imprisoned its leaders for alleged violations of the Sedition Act. But like Joe Hill, the IWW idea never died. Today, with nearly 5,000 US and Canadian members, it targets Starbucks and Kinko's instead of copper bosses and timber barons. For information on its centenary celebration on June 25–26, go to www.iww.org; (215) 222-1905.

EXCHANGE
CONTINUED

(Continued From Page 2)

case of Khader Hamide and Michel Shehadeh, two longtime permanent-resident immigrants facing deportation under the Patriot Act for distributing literature and raising charitable funds in Los Angeles in the 1980s. In speeches around the country, I regularly cite the ACLU's tremendous post-9/11 work, along with the work of many other civil rights and human rights groups, as a reason for hope in an otherwise dispiriting time. And I have gladly spoken at ACLU fundraisers from New Jersey to New Mexico.

All of which makes me disappointed that the ACLU's executive director perceived my piece as an attack on the ACLU itself. The subject of my article was not the ACLU but the scope of the Patriot Act debate. Its title was "The Missing Patriot Debate," not "What's Wrong With the ACLU." My point was that in today's climate, when liberals enter into coalitions with conservatives on civil liberties issues, as has happened on the Patriot Act, one unfortunate side effect is that we move forward only on issues that the conservatives also care about. This is a criticism of a phenomenon, not an organization.

On that matter, not addressed in Anthony Romero's letter, I stand my ground. The "libraries" provision, roving wiretaps and the sneak-and-peek authority are by no stretch of the imagination the worst aspects of the Patriot Act. Yet they have garnered virtually all the attention. The SAFE Act, the principal liberal-conservative coalition bill to amend the Patriot Act, would make important improvements in these measures, but it does not even touch the act's more troubling provisions affecting immigration, guilt by association or the freezing of charities' assets based on secret evidence—presumably because conservatives would not have signed on if it had.

Kate Martin, whose Center for National Security Studies has also played a critically important role in fighting for civil liberties since 9/11, correctly notes that liberals are not only working in alliance with conservatives on issues conservatives love but are also attempting to expand the debate to encompass the issues I underscored in my article. She is right, as is Romero, to stress the wide range of work being done. My point was not that liberal groups were not doing this work but that in the Patriot Act debate, that work has gone largely unnoticed. The Civil Liberties Restoration Act that Martin cites is a perfect example. It responds to the immigration abuses so prevalent in the aftermath of 9/11 and fully deserves support from all of us. But it is unlikely even to get a hearing in Congress. As always in a democracy, the voices of those without political power are much less likely to be heard. I consider it our responsibility as liberals and progressives to fight that tendency. The danger is that coalitions with conservatives may well reinforce the very tendency we need to be fighting against.

Coalition politics will always involve some compromises, deferring some items on a wish list in favor of concrete advances on others. I suggest, however, that we liberals might do better to seek support from the rest of the world by insisting on the protection of basic human rights rather than cutting inside-the-Beltway deals with conservatives. It is not a matter of wanting to be left out in the cold but of where one looks for one's blankets. DAVID COLE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS & THE ARTS

Tug of War

ANDREW J. BACEVICH

PERILS OF DOMINANCE: Imbalance of Power and the Road to Vietnam.
By Gareth Porter.
California. 403 pp. $27.50.

This illuminating and wonderfully subversive book is, without a doubt, the most important contribution to the history of US national security policy to appear in the past decade. Nominally, *Perils of Dominance* reinterprets the origins of the Vietnam War, recounting the crucial decisions made between 1954 and 1965 culminating in the commitment of American combat forces. In retracing this familiar sequence of events Gareth Porter, an independent scholar who has published on the war for more than three decades, challenges and overturns conventional explanations of how the United States blundered into that conflict. But the revisionist interpretation that he puts forward is of far more than historical interest. *Perils of Dominance* demolishes our most fundamental assumptions about how national security policy is formulated. Perhaps of even greater significance, it undermines the very notion of the cold war as a construct that explains the postwar era and as a source of myth used to justify actions well into the present.

In the 1950s and '60s, the chief factor governing US policy, writes Porter, was not ideology—a fear of aggressive and monolithic Communism that seemingly left the United States with no alternative but to prop up tottering dominoes—but "strategic asymmetry." A pronounced imbalance of power between the United States and the Soviet Union, amounting from 1953 onward to "something approaching absolute strategic dominance," freed Washington of any perceived need to exercise self-restraint and created incentives for aggressive and even reckless action. In this sense, the United States wandered into the quagmire not grudgingly or against its will but because influential officials in the Eisenhower, Kennedy and Johnson administrations were convinced that the United States held all the cards and couldn't lose.

Striking at the cold war's conceptual definition, Porter dismisses the notion that the Soviet-American rivalry was a contest between two superpowers of more or less equal stature. Rather, he asserts that from the early 1950s onward the international order was "effectively unipolar." Once the Korean War triggered the rearmament program proposed by the 1950 policy paper NSC-68, the United States quickly achieved a position of overwhelming pre-eminence. For the next decade and more, it maintained that pre-eminence, especially as measured by the currency of nuclear striking power. Porter does an especially effective job of documenting this strategic disparity, fully recognized in both Washington and Moscow (not to mention Beijing and Hanoi). Although the Soviets had detonated their first atomic bomb in 1949, when it came to deploying such weapons effectively, they lagged at least a generation behind the Americans. Throughout the 1950s and beyond, Soviet long-range bombers were slow, vulnerable and few in number. Soviet land-based missiles were unprotected and maintained at low levels of readiness. Soviet submarines were noisy and carried short-range missiles tipped with conventional warheads. Launching a missile required the sub to surface. Soviet air defenses were porous.

Gareth Porter's new book demolishes our most fundamental assumptions regarding the formulation of national security policy.

Furthermore, American officials had a high level of confidence in their ability to take out the Soviet arsenal before it could do any harm. Gen. Curtis LeMay, commander of the Strategic Air Command, believed that SAC could destroy Soviet warmaking capabilities "without losing a man to their

Andrew J. Bacevich, a professor of international relations at Boston University, is the author of The New American Militarism: How Americans Are Seduced by War *(Oxford).*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

defenses." In 1959 President Dwight Eisenhower assured Senator Lyndon Johnson that "if we were to release our nuclear stockpile on the Soviet Union, the main danger would arise not from retaliation but from fallout in the earth's atmosphere."

To be sure, US officials did not share these truths with the American people. For public consumption, the Red Menace remained dire. Portraying the Soviets as ten feet tall served several purposes. It enabled generals like LeMay to shake down Congress for better bombers, bigger missiles and an ever-expanding budget. It allowed ambitious politicians like Senators Johnson and John Kennedy to advertise their credentials as tough-minded statesmen keenly attuned to the threats facing the nation in a dangerous world. More obliquely, publicly exaggerating the lethality of the Soviet strike force helped the wily Eisenhower keep LeMay and other superhawks at least partially in check: By positing a relationship of mutual deterrence the President could argue against further expanding US strategic capabilities (in reality vastly superior) as potentially destabilizing. In other words, overstating the Soviet threat helped Ike fend off demands for overkill.

GETTY IMAGES

Dean Rusk, Lyndon Johnson and Robert McNamara, 1967

According to Porter, this strategic asymmetry exercised a decisive effect on US policy in Vietnam. Persuaded that their veiled threat to use nuclear weapons in Korea had brought that conflict to an end, Eisenhower and Secretary of State John Foster Dulles concluded that the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China would go to great lengths to avoid even the prospect of a showdown with the United States. In Indochina, they exploited that vulnerability not by intervening in 1954 to bail out the French—Eisenhower resisted Pentagon pressures to do so—but by torpedoing the Geneva Accords, confident that neither of the two major Communist powers would do more than offer empty protests. Hence, writes Porter, there appeared to be "no serious downside to scrapping the elections called for by the Geneva Accords" and to creating the new client state of South Vietnam, with Ngo Dinh Diem installed as president.

In the near term, Eisenhower's reading of Soviet and "ChiCom" behavior proved accurate. Although Ho Chi Minh might chafe, without Great Power support he was in no position to pursue his dream of uniting Vietnam under his rule. Such support was not forthcoming. Instead, calculations of power and self-interest persuaded both Soviet and Chinese leaders to pursue "a conscious policy of appeasement of the United States on Vietnam." For the balance of the decade, the basic posture in both Moscow and Beijing was to "placate Washington and lean on Hanoi."

Intent on consolidating his hold on the Republic of Vietnam, Diem saw this tacit arrangement among the main powers as his chance to root out the Communists who had remained in the south following partition. But the ensuing campaign of repression succeeded only in inducing a violent backlash that South Vietnamese forces could not suppress. In this sense, the "war of national liberation" aimed at toppling the regime in Saigon began not at the behest of Nikita Khrushchev or Mao Zedong, or even at Ho's instigation. Porter takes great pains to emphasize that it grew out of the resistance mounted by besieged Vietminh cadres for whom comparisons of nuclear arsenals mattered less than fending off attacks aimed at their extinction. The fifteen-year struggle for South Vietnam, writes Porter, originated as "a breach in the international hierarchy of power from the bottom up."

John Kennedy inherited this insurgency in January 1961. By the time of his assassination in November 1963, America's commitment to South Vietnam had deepened considerably. Yet Porter portrays Kennedy himself as anything but the eager cold warrior. In *Perils of Dominance* we see a pragmatic and flexible JFK looking for ways to open up a diplomatic track and resisting efforts by key advisers like McGeorge Bundy, Maxwell Taylor and Averell Harriman to maneuver him into a full-fledged shooting war. An awareness of the Sino-Soviet split encouraged these hardliners in the belief that the United States had no need to compromise on Vietnam; any solution ought to come on American terms. Although they continued in public to depict the Communist bloc as monolithic, Administration officials knew that the reality was quite different. According to Porter, they knew too that "the USSR neither represented a revolutionary force in world politics nor exercised real control over other Communist movements." Why play for a tie when victory was there for the taking?

Porter credits Kennedy with playing a sophisticated game, using "multiple levels of deception" to outwit his adversaries, both inside and outside his Administration. Willing to settle for a Vietnam neutralized along the lines of Laos, he was nonetheless determined to insulate himself from the charge of being soft on Communism. Kennedy did substantially increase the number of US advisers in South Vietnam, but he acted primarily "to maintain a minimum of political unity in his own administration." His real aim was to begin the process of withdrawal. Yet Kennedy wanted assurances that the Pentagon was fully committed to any such decision before revealing his intentions. Overall, the President maintained a "stance of deliberate ambiguity," concealing his "real policy toward Vietnam not only from the public but from most of his own national security bureaucracy."

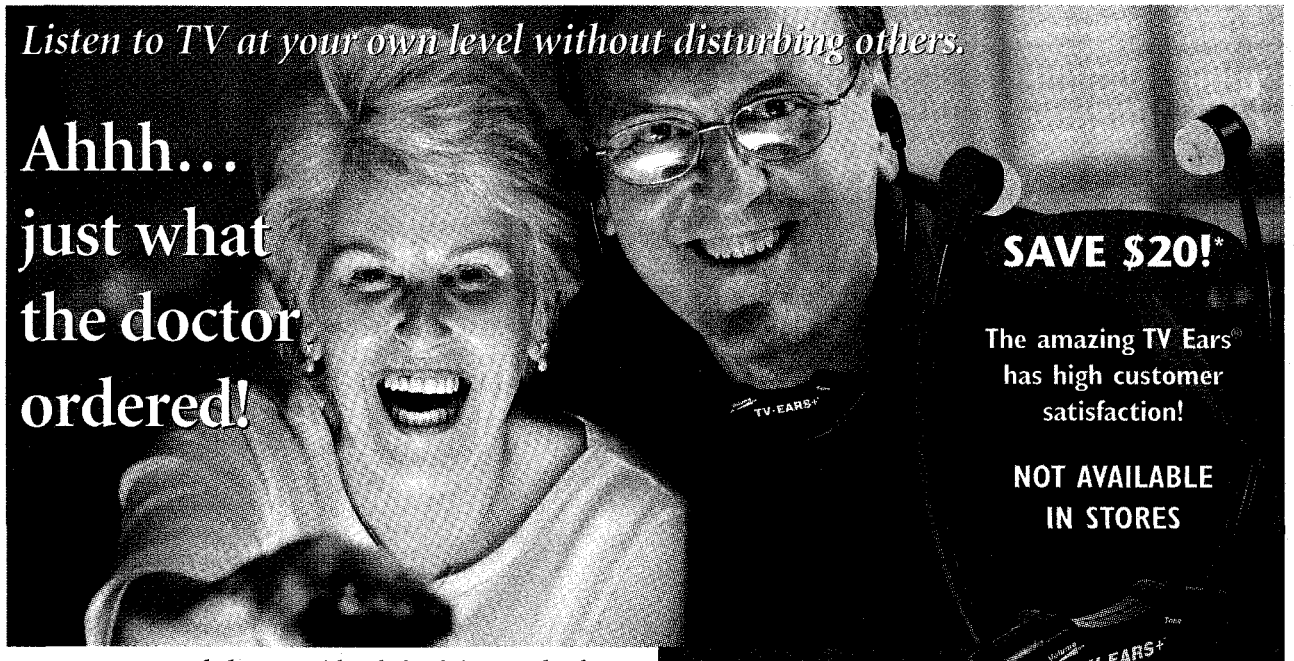
This is a plausible explanation of Kennedy's behavior. A second explanation, equally plausible, is that JFK was not so much sophisticated as uncertain, not pragmatic but confused. The hardliners of Camelot had no doubt about their intentions regarding Vietnam; apart from doing nothing to jeopardize his own re-election in 1964, Kennedy didn't know exactly what he wanted. By November 1, 1963, with the assassination of President Diem, it became readily apparent that the internal struggle to determine US policy in Vietnam had ended: The hardliners had prevailed.

Lyndon Johnson arrived in the Oval Office even less keen on fighting a major war in Southeast Asia than his predecessor had been. But LBJ retained most of Kennedy's national security advisers, who were more eager than ever to press what they viewed

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Listen to TV at your own level without disturbing others.

Ahhh… just what the doctor ordered!



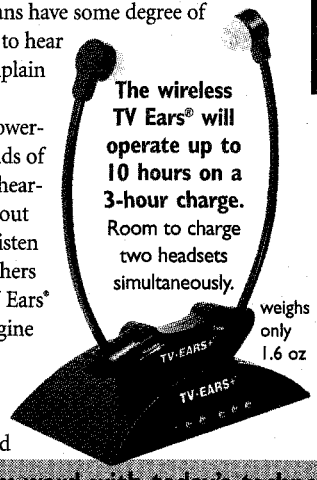
SAVE $20!*

The amazing TV Ears® has high customer satisfaction!

NOT AVAILABLE IN STORES

Doctor recommended TV Ears® has helped thousands of people hear television clearly without turning up the volume.

More than 28 million Americans have some degree of hearing loss. If you struggle to hear TV, or family members complain the TV is too loud, you need TV Ears®! Doctor recommended, TV Ears® is a powerful new device that has helped thousands of people with mild, moderate, or severe hearing loss hear the television clearly without turning up the volume. Now you can listen to television at your own level while others may adjust the volume to fit theirs. TV Ears® helps you hear every word clearly. Imagine watching your favorite programs, and actually being able to hear every word and sound—it will change your life! If you are dealing with the frustration and arguments that come with turning up your TV volume too loud…read on.



The wireless TV Ears® will operate up to 10 hours on a 3-hour charge. Room to charge two headsets simultaneously.

weighs only 1.6 oz

From George Dennis, president and founder of TV Ears, Inc.

"The inspiration for TV Ears® was based on the well-known statistic that nearly 80% of people with hearing loss go undiagnosed and untreated for a variety of reasons which may include vanity or cost of treatment. TV Ears® has proven to be an appealing product to the average person and an excellent introduction to those seeking improved hearing health."

The cheaper, commercial headsets are limited in output and amplify all sound at the same level. TV Ears® is powerful (120 db), and features voice enhancement technology to make hard to hear words easier to understand and background sounds are kept in the background.

Bringing the clear voice directly to your ears!

"My wife and I have used them [TV Ears®] almost daily for the past two years and find them an invaluable help in our enjoyment of television—we would not be without them. As a retired otologist, I heartily recommend TV Ears® to people with normal hearing as well as those with hearing loss."

—Robert F., M.D., California

Hear every word with today's technology!

- **Television Audio Processing.** (TAP) The transmitter processes the audio from your TV or other audio devices and amplifies regular dialogue, hard to hear voices, and whispers.
- **Automatic Volume Control.** (AVC) Selectively compresses loud bursts of volume that are annoying when watching a program, channel surfing, or during commercials.
- **Infrared technology.** TV Ears' infrared technology provides safe, superior sound quality without interference and frequency drifting. Transmits up to 900 sq. ft.
- **Left-Right balance control.** Allows you to adjust the volume for rich, high-quality sound in both ears.
- **Individual controls.** Multiple headsets can be adjusted to the user's personal needs.
- **Long-lasting charge.** You can quickly charge two headsets at the same time, and TV-Ears® will function up to 10 hours on a 3-hour charge. Charger included.

Try them yourself! If you aren't totally amazed…send them back, and keep the phone as our gift! We're so sure you'll be absolutely astonished with the increase in sound and clarity when using the TV Ears®, that we're backing them with *first*STREET's exclusive in-home 90-day trial. If you aren't completely satisfied, simply return them for the product purchase price.

TV Ears® Item# ZM-3874 . . . . . **was ~~$169.95~~**

Now only . . . . . **$149.95** + S&H

*__FREE__ amplified phone a $49.95 and up value.

Please mention promotional code 30066.

For fastest service, call toll-free 24 hours a day

800-807-6304

To order by mail, please call for details.

Special offer available on phone orders only.

www.firststreetonline.com

*first*STREET™
SEE IT HERE FIRST
formerly TechnoScout®

1998 Ruffin Mill Road
Colonial Heights, VA 23834

All rights reserved. © 2005 *first*STREET, Inc.

FREE GIFT

***Call now and order TV Ears® - get this amplified phone valued at $49.95 and up absolutely FREE as our gift to you.**

• 30db Amplification • Visual volume indicator

• Visual ringer • Extra large keypad

41273

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Prickly
PRICKLY PARADIGM PRESS
New pocket-sized pamphlets from Pricky Paradigm Press
$10

The Stock Ticker and the Superjumbo
How the Democrats Can Once Again Become America's Dominant Political Party
Rick Perlstein
A majority of Americans tell pollsters they want more government intervention to reduce the gap between high- and lower-income citizens, and less than a third consider high taxes to be a problem. Yet conservative Republicanism currently controls the political discourse. Why? Rick Perlstein probes this paradox in his pamphlet, offering a thirty-year plan for Democratic victory.

The Law in Shambles
Thomas Geoghegan
It's an enduring axiom: before there is democracy, there is rule of law. Thomas Geoghegan argues here in his lively pamphlet that the sense of disorder in America's legal system has never been greater, and we may no longer have the basic civic trust necessary to preserve the rule of law.

The Hitman's Dilemma
Or Business, Personal and Impersonal
Keith Hart
"It's just business," says the professional killer to his victim. But business is always personal. Keith Hart asks: What place is there for the humanity of individual persons in the dehumanized social and economic frameworks of contemporary life? This is the hitman's dilemma, and it is ours as well.

Distributed by
The University of Chicago Press
www.press.uchicago.edu

as the US advantage over the Communists. As early as December 1963, Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara was promising American officials in Saigon that "we will escalate the conflict to whatever level is required to ensure their defeat."

Persuading a reluctant President to endorse that proposition took the next fourteen months. The high points included Congressional passage of the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution. Porter persuasively depicts this episode not as LBJ pulling a fast one on Congress so much as the hardliners conspiring to circumvent Johnson's inhibitions about bombing the north. Toward that end, the odious McNamara deliberately withheld from his President details indicating just how ambiguous the Tonkin Gulf incident had been.

After Johnson won the presidency in his own right, the hardliners ratcheted up the pressure. Again, their insistence on further escalation was driven by an unshakable confidence in US military superiority. In the fall of 1964, national security adviser William Bundy went so far as to assure Johnson that "both Hanoi and Peiping are anxious not to become involved in the kind of war in which the great weight of US weaponry could be brought against them." The other side could be counted on to shrink from the prospect of fighting Americans.

Action was seen as having no downside, while inaction implied weakness. By January 1965 Johnson's top national security advisers were all but taunting him for being pusillanimous. The people of South Vietnam "see the enormous power of the United States withheld," wrote McNamara and McGeorge Bundy in a joint memo, "and they get little sense of firm and active U.S. policy." To persist in what they described as an "essentially passive role" would "lead to eventual defeat and an invitation to get out in humiliating circumstances"—for which Johnson, not they, would take the blame. The time had come, McNamara and Bundy insisted, to "use our military power in the Far East...to force a change in Communist policy." This time Johnson capitulated: Operation Rolling Thunder commenced; contingents of US Marines, followed by an ever swelling number of Army troops, began coming ashore.

Persuasive in its own terms, Porter's study raises several important second-order issues. The first issue poses the question: Who exactly is in charge? The second relates to what we might call the actual sources of American conduct. A third suggests the need to recast the entire narrative of the cold war.

Depending on whether or not their own guy happens to be in office, most Americans tend either to celebrate presidential leadership or to bemoan the excesses of an imperial presidency. In either case, at least since the days of Franklin Roosevelt, Americans have assumed that the occupant of the Oval Office actually runs the show—that Presidents command the loyalty of their subordinates, exercise effective control over their Administration and make decisions that others faithfully implement. *Perils of Dominance* suggests that this model is largely a fiction. All three Presidents considered in this study engaged in a continuous struggle to retain the reins of authority. Of the three, only Eisenhower achieved even a modicum of success. In each case, as Porter notes, "the national security bureaucracy acted as an independent power center within the US government with the right to pressure the president on matters of war and peace."

The political competition that gets all the ink is the visible one pitting Democrats against Republicans. The competition that matters is the largely hidden one between Presidents ultimately accountable to the people and "unelected national security managers" accountable to no one. These national security chieftains constitute a sort of permanent war party. When hawking their wares, they speak movingly of their commitment to freedom, democracy and human rights. When they step away from the podium and the TV cameras, values take a back seat to considerations of power. For McNamara and the Bundy brothers in their day, as for Donald Rumsfeld and Paul Wolfowitz in our own, the prospect of gratification lay not in husbanding power but in using it. In fevered minds, the imagined risks of inaction loom large; the benefits of action loom larger still. Applied to a world not nearly as malleable as the national security elite imagines, this logic yields not only Vietnam but also Iraq.

Finally, there is the historical period remembered as the cold war. A bipolar order, West versus East, the United States committed to a defensive posture called "containment": *Perils of Dominance* calls all of these into question. Reality, this account suggests, was far more complex and ambiguous, certainly in the 1950s and '60s but by implication in the 1970s and '80s as well. Teasing out that more complex version of US policy in the postwar decades just might shed light on America's transformation from defender of the Free World to militarized global hegemon. Gareth Porter has gotten that project off to an exceptionally fine start. ■

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

OBITUARY

The Principle of Hope

ADAM SHATZ

On the morning of Thursday, June 2, the Lebanese journalist Samir Kassir left his apartment for the offices of the daily *Al-Nahar* in downtown Beirut. Kassir's editorials, which appeared in *Al-Nahar* each Friday, were models of lucidity and passion, expressing the hopes shared by many Lebanese for freedom from Syrian domination. His writing not only captured the popular mood in Lebanon; it inspired people to take chances they would not have otherwise risked.

Kassir never made it to work: When he got into his car, a bomb placed under it exploded. In killing him, Kassir's assassins silenced one of the leading progressives in the Middle East, and one of its bravest voices: an unflagging advocate of democracy, an opponent of Arab dictatorships and of Western double standards, a champion of Palestinian rights who was also a scathing critic of anti-Semitism.

Born in 1960 in Beirut to a Palestinian father of Greek Orthodox confession and a Syrian mother, Kassir taught history at St. Joseph's University in Beirut. A fully bearded, dashing man of considerable charm and wit who bore more than a passing resemblance to the Italian *cinéaste* Nanni Moretti, he cut a glamorous profile. His charisma was more than matched by his mind. Equally at home in the newsroom and in the archives, in Arabic and in French, he wrote for *Le Monde diplomatique* and *La Revue d'études palestiniennes* and published several important works of scholarship in French, including a massive history of his native city and a study of the Lebanese civil war.

Independence seemed to come naturally to Kassir, who never shied away from a cause merely because it was unpopular. In the late 1990s he led a lonely crusade against the French Holocaust denier Roger Garaudy, who had been making inroads into otherwise progressive Arab intellectual circles; four years ago, he helped prevent the pernicious Institute for Historical Review, a Garaudy-affiliated revisionist group based in the United States, from holding a conference in Beirut. At even greater personal risk, Kassir protested what he called Syria's "mafia-type protectorate" over Lebanon, campaigning tirelessly for independence and railing against a security apparatus most of his colleagues were too timorous to name. Kassir's open defiance of Damascus brought him unwanted attention from the pro-Syrian security establishment, which harassed him with menacing phone calls, briefly confiscated his passport on the spurious grounds that he was an "influential agent of the Palestinian Authority" and tailed him in unmarked police cars.

Yet Kassir was not "anti-Syrian," as the American press glibly described him. In fact, he was a supporter and publisher of Syria's secular dissidents, who shared his contempt for the Assad regime and who drew hope from the withdrawal of Syrian troops from Lebanon two months after the February 14 assassination of former Lebanese Prime Minister Rafik Hariri. The desire to extinguish this hope may have figured in the plot to kill Kassir, who was scheduled to make a speech in Damascus in mid-June, and who had recently dared to suggest that the end of the Assad dynasty might be closer than anyone could imagine.

Kassir stood apart in other ways from the anti-Syrian movement that he helped spawn. He understood that restoring—or, rather, establishing—Lebanon's sovereignty was not simply a matter of driving out Syrian troops and intelligence services or, contrary to the Americans, of demilitarizing Hezbollah. (Although Kassir despised the party for its assassinations of Lebanese leftists in the 1980s, and for the "cult of death" it had spread among the children of Lebanon and Palestine, he told me that he would oppose any "aggressive policy against Hezbollah" by the US government.) Kassir espoused both these goals, but he viewed Lebanese independence as only a prelude to the struggle for popular sovereignty, secularism and democracy. With its extraordinary diversity, its history of constitutional politics, its rich intellectual and literary tradition, its magnificent port city, its longstanding openness to the West, Lebanon had the potential to become a "laboratory for modernity," he argued, but only if it broke with the ways of the past and challenged the entrenched

SUPPORT OUR TROOPS. BRING THEM HOME NOW!
Let your voice of protest be seen and heard with our high quality, digital, full color, 4MIL vinyl bumper sticker 3" x 15"
Just $3.99 each
or 3 for $10.00
Free Shipping & Handling
Make check or money order payable to:
SuperNova-N, P.O. Box 2588, Evergreen, CO 80437
- Bulk pricing available -

Meet the People. Learn the Facts. Make a Difference.
Explore South Africa or Tanzania on these alternative, educational tours that will go beyond the safari and get to know the people of a continent that finds itself living somewhere between a traditional cultural existence and the modern pressures of globalization.
South Africa:
August 1-15, 2005
October 2-13, 2005
Tanzania:
Oct 22 - Nov 2, 2005
GLOBAL EXCHANGE
Reality Tours
800-497-1994 | www.globalexchange.org

CIRCLE PINES CENTER
Co-op camping since 1938
Summer sessions
Ages 7 - 17
(269) 623-
www.circlepinescenter.org

CRUISE BY FREIGHTER
TravLtips
Worldwide. First Class Relaxing. Reasonable
e-mail: info@travltips.com
800-872-8584 www.travltips.com

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

privileges of the country's political elite.

And so, as elated—and, indeed, startled—as he was by the success of the Independence Intifada ("We can at last speak freely," he said the night before his death), he was disheartened that some of the movement's leaders had fallen back on old habits as soon as the Syrians departed, bickering over the spoils of power, playing the old game of confessional politics that led to the civil war thirty years ago—and that allowed Damascus to present itself as a peace broker. Nor did he hesitate to raise his voice against this trend. Having led the call for the repatriation of Christian General Michel Aoun, who had fled to France after mounting a failed uprising against the Syrians in 1990, Kassir was planning to criticize Aoun in his next column for cozying up to the intelligence services upon his return to Lebanon, thus dividing the opposition. Returning to business as usual would only leave Lebanon vulnerable once again to the designs of bigger powers.

The Movement of the Democratic Left that Kassir helped found was an alliance of Lebanese progressives, many of them former Communists who had come to recognize that Israeli expansionism and American imperialism, although obstacles to Arab progress, had become alibis for autocracies that refused to reform. The creation of democratic, accountable institutions and the establishment of the rule of law, Kassir underscored, are vital aims in themselves; for what was the point of overthrowing colonialism if not to put something better in its place? Some of his critics complained that, with his focus on Lebanese-Syrian relations, he had abandoned the cause of Palestine. Rather, as a Lebanese citizen, he understood that his first obligation was to liberate his own country—a lesson lost not only on his peers in the pan-Arab camp, who have long dreamed that the liberation of Palestine would spark a revolution in their own countries, but on our own liberal-hawk missionaries.

At the same time, Kassir understood that Lebanon's predicament could not be separated from regional struggles over land and capital, faith and power. The Lebanese could not afford to be provincial, the curse of small countries. With the Saudis building mosques in Beirut (and turning seaside resorts into a holiday harem); the Iranians arming Hezbollah and funding its schools and hospitals; Israel and Hezbollah trading fire on the border; the United States vying for influence with France, Lebanon's former colonial master; hundreds of thousands of Palestinian refugees in wretched camps, still awaiting their fate; and, not least, the Lebanese fractured into more than a dozen clans, many connected by religion and ethnicity to groups beyond the country's borders—with this intricate web of forces, Lebanon held up a mirror to the wider Arab world. The political and intellectual stagnation of that world, what he called the "Arab malaise," was the subject of his last book, *Considérations sur le malheur arabe*. In Kassir's view, the region had succumbed to this malaise not only because the West had overtaken it but because the Arabs had failed to modernize, instead taking consolation in false solutions like pan-Arabism and Islamism.

Predictably, Kassir was accused of being an "Arab pessimist" who had lost faith in his own society. In fact, he was animated by a quality seldom found in the Middle East: hope. "If a liberal Middle East were not possible," he told Michael Young, the opinion editor of the Beirut *Daily Star*, in an interview with *Reason*, "things would be unbearable for secular people like us." But "for it to be possible,"

> the liberal West must also be liberal in the Middle East: It must abandon its support for dictatorships, even those considered as moderates and allies. Look what happened with Libya: Once Muammar al-Qadaffi renounced his nuclear ambitions, Bush and Blair acclaimed him. What a message when you are calling for democracy in the Middle East!... Most importantly, the West must accept that the strategic importance of the Middle East must not justify denying its peoples the rights to self-determination, and that means, particularly, the Palestinians.

Kassir's murder went almost unnoticed by the American left, in large part because few here had even heard of him. But there was perhaps a less innocent reason: Kassir's cause converged inconveniently with the anti-Syrian agenda of the American government, which promptly turned up the heat on Damascus after his death. (Imagine the outcry from the left if a man of his stature had been cut down by American or Israeli arms.) It was his misfortune to incur the wrath of a state vilified by the United States; this deprived him of the sympathy to which he was entitled. No such parochial calculation deterred the Palestinian left—or Syrian dissidents, who have made it plain they do not wish to be rescued from Baathism by the American military—from paying tribute to Kassir, whom they recognized as a kindred spirit.

In Lebanon he has ascended, if that is the word, to the status of "the martyr Kassir." Yet Kassir was an unusual kind of martyr in today's Middle East, a staunch secularist who wanted to live in a free country, not to die for one. In a region driven increasingly by a politics of death and sacrifice, he stood for a vision of peaceful reform, progressive social change and democratic secularism—the values of any left worthy of the name. The day after Kassir's murder, hundreds of journalists poured into Martyrs' Square in downtown Beirut to observe an hour of silence. Many raised black pens to the sky, visually evoking the adage that the pen is mightier than the sword. It is not. But to wield the pen rather than the sword in the face of mortal threats requires uncommon courage. This Samir Kassir had in abundance. His death is a terrible blow not only to his family and friends but to Lebanon, Syria and the cause of Arab freedom. ■

MUSIC

Born Again in the USA

JODY ROSEN

BRUCE SPRINGSTEEN: DEVILS & DUST

"Now every woman and every man/They want to take a righteous stand/Find the love that God wills/And the faith that He commands," sings Bruce Springsteen in the title track of his thirteenth studio album, *Devils & Dust*. God has always had a place in Springsteen's cosmology, just a notch or two below girls, Telecaster guitars and the New Jersey Turnpike. As far back as the mid-1970s, Springsteen was writing allegorical songs about Adam and Cain, and trying to talk the girl off her front porch with lines like "We're ridin' out to-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Now get Free Bulbs for Life!†

A floor lamp that spreads sunshine all over a room, and pays for itself!

CALL TODAY TO RECEIVE FREE BULBS FOR LIFE† AND FREE SHIPPING††

The Balanced Spectrum® floor lamp combines the benefits of natural daylight indoors with a savings of $51 over the life of one bulb!*

Ever since the first human went into a dark cave and built a fire, people have realized the importance of proper indoor lighting. Unfortunately, since Edison invented the light bulb, lighting technology has remained relatively prehistoric. Modern light fixtures do little to combat many symptoms of improper lighting, such as eyestrain, dryness or burning. As more and more of us spend longer hours in front of a computer monitor, the results are compounded. And the effects of indoor lighting are not necessarily limited to physical well-being. Many people believe that the quantity and quality of light can play a part in one's mood and work performance. Now there's a better way to bring the positive benefits of natural sunlight indoors.

The Balanced Spectrum® floor lamp will change the way you see and feel about your living or work spaces. Studies show that sunshine can lift your mood and your energy levels. But as we all know the sun, unfortunately, does not always shine. So to bring the benefits of natural daylight indoors, use the floor lamp that simulates the full spectrum of daylight. You will see with more clarity and enjoyment as this lamp provides sharp visibility for close tasks and reduces eyestrain.

Its 27-watt compact bulb is the equivalent to a 150-watt ordinary light bulb. This makes it perfect for activities such as reading, writing, sewing, needlepoint, and especially for aging eyes.

We've looked at lots of lights, but this one offers the benefit of dual light levels of 27 and 18 watts of power equivalent to 150-and 100-watt incandescent bulbs. This lamp has a flexible gooseneck design for maximum efficiency, with an "Instant On" switch that is flicker-free. The high-tech electronics, user-friendly design, and bulb that lasts 10 times longer than an ordinary bulb make this lamp a must-have.

*SAVE $51 over the life of one Balanced Spectrum® bulb!**

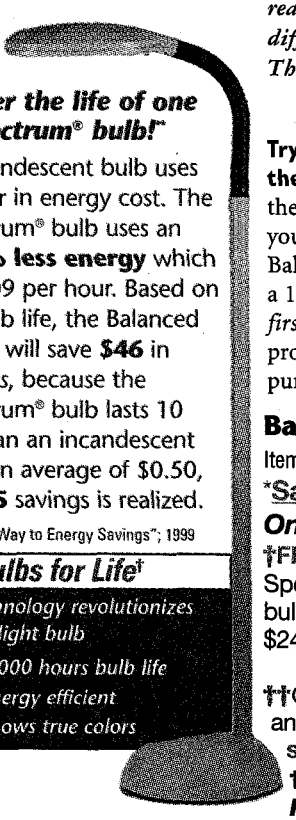
A 150-watt incandescent bulb uses $0.013 per hour in energy cost. The Balanced Spectrum® bulb uses an average of **70% less energy** which saves you $0.009 per hour. Based on 5,000 hours bulb life, the Balanced Spectrum® bulb will save **$46** in energy cost. *Plus,* because the Balanced Spectrum® bulb lasts 10 times longer than an incandescent bulb priced at an average of $0.50, an additional **$5** savings is realized.

**Source: "Lighting the Way to Energy Savings"; 1999

Free Bulbs for Life†

Technology revolutionizes the light bulb

- *5,000 hours bulb life*
- *Energy efficient*
- *Shows true colors*



Height as shown: 50"

"As soon as I turned on the lamp and began to read the newspaper I could see the wonderful difference. This lamp is just what I needed. Thank you so much."

Donna E.
Scranton, PA

Try the Balanced Spectrum® floor lamp for the best value ever! Now more than ever is the time to add sunshine to every room in your home at this fantastic low price! The Balanced Spectrum® floor lamp comes with a 1-year manufacturer's limited warranty and *first*STREET's exclusive guarantee. Try this product for 90 days and return it for the product purchase price if not completely satisfied.

Balanced Spectrum® floor lamp

Item# BS-3589 ..... **was ~~$59.95~~**

*Save $10 with mail-in rebate

Only $49.95 ea + S&H after rebate

†**FREE Bulbs for Life.** Order one Balanced Spectrum® floor lamp, if it ever needs a new bulb, we'll send you a free bulb valued at $24.95, and ALL you pay is S&H.

- or -

††Order two Balanced Spectrum® floor lamps and get **FREE Bulbs for Life† plus FREE shipping** on both lamps.

††Free shipping within the Continental U.S. Only.

Please mention promotional code 30065.

For fastest service, call toll-free 24 hours a day

888-933-6684

To order by mail, please call for details

www.balancedspectrum.com

firstSTREET™
SEE IT HERE FIRST

Formerly TechnoScout®

1998 Ruffin Mill Road • Colonial Heights, VA 23834

All rights reserved. © 2005 *first*STREET, Inc.

40784

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

night to case the Promised Land." But *Devils & Dust* is so thoroughly suffused with religious imagery it might as well be a gospel album. There's that somber title song, about a soldier whose "God-filled soul" is corrupted by warfare; a retelling of the Old Testament story of Leah; and a slew of biblical elocutions about "fiery lanterns," "blood consecrated" streets, "higher ground," "sweet salvation," "Ezekiel's valley of dry bones" and "the garden at Gethsemane," where Jesus "beseeched his Heavenly Father to remove/The cup of death from his lips." Not even Bob Dylan at the height of his born-again phase managed to shoehorn a King James verb like "beseeched" into a song.

At least one critic—*Slate*'s Stephen Metcalf—has detected a little political calculation on *Devils & Dust*, an attempt to appeal to "the growing religiosity of the country." But Springsteen, who was last seen in the autumn of 2004 barnstorming in support of John Kerry, isn't exactly going out of his way to woo red-state audiences. In fact, his God-talk is less likely a matter of politics—or, for that matter, theology—than poetry. In the first decade of his career, Springsteen established himself as a rock and roller in the heroic tradition of Chuck Berry, Elvis and Dylan, but with the release of *Nebraska* in 1982, he launched a secondary career as a balladeer in the Woody Guthrie mode, flattening his accent into a vaguely Okie twang and writing stark, scratchy songs that sound like they were unearthed by Alan Lomax. The current album finds Springsteen playing that folkie role to the hilt—on the thirty-minute DVD on the flip side of the CD, Springsteen performs five songs on a battered acoustic guitar in an atmospheric old farmhouse—and what, after all, is more evocative of old-timey authenticity than a few references to the hills of Nazareth? Sooner or later, every singer-songwriter with a taste for Gothic Americana reaches for his bottle slide and starts quoting the Good Book.

Springsteen's previous folk records were the bleakest of his career. *Nebraska*'s ten songs, recorded in brutally bare-bones style at home on Springsteen's four-track recorder, were beautifully written tales of economic desperation and crime set against a desolate Reagan-era backdrop. *The Ghost of Tom Joad* (1995) was a bit more orchestrated—a few songs featured a backing band—but for the most part the aesthetic was Guthriesque campfire *vérité*, and the lyrics, focusing on migrant workers and other marginalized characters, were Springsteen's grimmest and most explicitly political. *Devils & Dust* is a sequel to those earlier albums, but the mood is lighter (the record includes a few love songs), and the arrangements make concessions to pop. Producer Brendan O'Brien—who did admirable work, on a far grander scale, on Springsteen's 2002 rock album, *The Rising*—places him and his twanging folk-blues guitar in the foreground but adds some texture: keyboards, horns, a string section, even touches of sitar, electric sarangi and other instruments not likely to have been found kicking around Leadbelly's front porch. Springsteen fans who found it hard to warm to *Nebraska* and *Tom Joad* will appreciate songs like "Long Time Comin'," with its rousing sing-along chorus, and, especially, "All the Way Home," the album's closest thing to a genuine rock song, with a wash of guitars and a cracking snare drum.

Those songs mine a familiar Springsteen theme, the hard-luck guy redeemed by the love of a good woman. But there are departures. By far the most discussed new song is "Reno," a short story about a Mexican man's visit to a hooker, which includes some frank references to anal sex and various other erotic acts. Though far from gratuitously blue, the song has earned Springsteen his first-ever parental advisory sticker and led to a ban on *Devils & Dust* in Starbucks stores. (One can only hope that Springsteen regards his Not Latte Appropriate status as a badge of honor.) The truth is, parents have little to fear from "Reno," whose Spartan tunelessness would doubtless send their children running in the direction of the nearest Ludacris or Kelly Clarkson record.

The problem with the lyrics in "Reno" and other songs on *Devils & Dust* lies elsewhere. Apparently, the Boss has been spending time curled up with high-minded literary fiction ("The sun bloodied the sky and sliced through the hotel blinds"; "In the Valle de dos Rios, smell of mock orange filled the air"; "We rode with the *vaqueros* down into cool rivers of green"; etc.). "Reno" even comes with footnotes: The lyric booklet includes a glossary of terms, like "*Amatitlan*" ("Central Mexican River"), that Springsteen peppers liberally throughout the album.

On *Devils & Dust* Springsteen the melodist has gone missing, and the poet has turned into a poetaster. Springsteen started out as an exuberantly verbose lyricist clearly under Dylan's spell, but by the time he made *The River* (1980), he'd evolved the spare, brisk narrative style that's been his hallmark ever since. The result was some of the best American songwriting of the past three decades, fusing autobiography,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

rock-and-roll mythology and folklore and backed by surging, transcendent music. Consider these verses from Springsteen's first Top 10 hit, "Hungry Heart" (1980):

> Got a wife and kids in Baltimore, Jack.
> I went out for a ride, and I never went back.
> Like a river that don't know where it's flowing,
> I took a wrong turn and I just kept going....
> I met her in a Kingstown bar.
> We fell in love I knew it had to end.
> We took what we had, and we ripped it apart.
> Now here I am down in Kingstown again....

These lines are almost entirely monosyllabic; they eschew adjectives and flowery language. But "Hungry Heart" conjures a whole world, and a worldview, and its strangely festive melody and honking baritone sax and gliding background vocals are sublime—and you can dance to it. The songs on *Devils & Dust* are by contrast saddled with adjectives—the moon is sallow, the hills are rutted, the sky is pearl—fancy literary language and portentous religious imagery. Worse, many of the songs are set against a mythic Southwestern landscape, all rolling thunder and mountain passes and "harsh scrub pine," with horses and *mustañeros* ("mustangers") wandering through. Has Bruce Springsteen decided he'd rather be Cormac McCarthy?

This oppressively self-serious album, reeking of research and literary pretension, is especially surprising coming from Springsteen, who over the course of a dozen previous studio records has achieved a monumental and decidedly literary feat, bringing to life a milieu—North Jersey and environs—as rich and distinctive as Faulkner's Yoknapatawpha. His songwriting has moved away from that home turf in recent years, in large part, I think, because he has ceased to regard himself as a compelling subject. Springsteen's best work has always been confessional. This is true not just of his overtly autobiographical material, like the devastating cycle of songs about his father, but of all his albums up to *Tom Joad*. His characters were variously named—Scooter and Johnny and Bobby and Frank—but one story was being told: that of a son of Freehold, New Jersey, and his search for love and meaning.

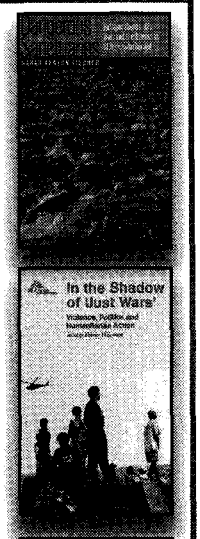
On *Devils & Dust*, that man is present only as a narrator of other people's stories: a semi-pro boxer, a black cowboy, Jesus, Mary. On the DVD, Springsteen declares

HUMANITARIAN ISSUES: AID AND INSTITUTIONS

Dangerous Sanctuaries
Refugee Camps, Civil War, and the Dilemmas of Humanitarian Aid
Sarah Kenyon Lischer
"Lischer takes a vexing problem, violence and refugee crises, and provides a clear, compelling analysis of what can be done about it. Dangerous Sanctuaries *is a model of policy relevant research."*
—Stephen John Stedman, Stanford University
CORNELL STUDIES IN SECURITY AFFAIRS

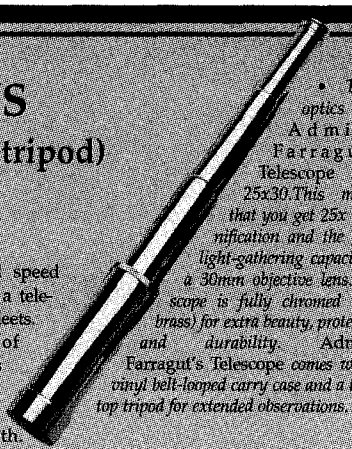
In the Shadow of "Just Wars"
Violence, Politics, and Humanitarian Action
Médecins sans Frontières
"With a clear, and often critical eye, the essays in this collection not only expose the shortcomings of the various humanitarian organizations, particularly the U.N., but also succeed in illuminating the complex moral and political debate that surrounds even the most basic relief operations."
—Publishers Weekly

A Not-So-Distant Horror
Mass Violence in East Timor
Joseph Nevins
"Nevins's book is a magnificent memorial to the people of East Timor and a damning indictment of international powers that armed, trained, and financed the Indonesian army's quarter-century reign of terror. Nevins eloquently moves from the horrifying reality of the slaughter on the ground to the international political elite who allowed it to happen, and go unpunished."
—Amy Goodman, *Democracy Now!*



CORNELL UNIVERSITY PRESS
www.cornellpress.cornell.edu | 1-800-666-2211

The spy glass that made naval history...
ADMIRAL FARRAGUT'S TELESCOPE (with tabletop tripod)
from us only $54.95 (Why pay more?)*
***But read this ad for an even better deal!**



When Admiral Farragut ("Damn the torpedoes; full speed ahead!") fought his legendary naval battles he used a telescope just like this to monitor the movements of the enemies' fleets.

This beautiful optical instrument, a faithful replica of the famous original (except that Admiral Farragut's was made of brass – ours is fully chromed over its pure brass body), is about 5" long in its collapsed position and 13" when extended to full operating length.

• *The optics of Admiral Farragut's Telescope are 25x30. This means that you get 25x magnification and the great light-gathering capacity of a 30mm objective lens. The scope is fully chromed (over brass) for extra beauty, protection and durability.* Admiral Farragut's Telescope *comes with a vinyl belt-looped carry case and a table-top tripod for extended observations.*

Enlargement is 25x, which means that it brings everything 25-times closer, and in needle-sharp focus, than if viewed with the unaided eye. Compare that to binoculars, which usually give you not more than 6x or perhaps 8x magnification. **ADMIRAL FARRAGUT'S TELESCOPE** comes with a belt-loop vinyl carrying case. There is also a table-top tripod for extended observations. This beautiful instrument is something you always wanted but thought you couldn't afford. It is a small luxury that you will really enjoy and that will give you wonderful service for many years. It is now available from us at a most affordable price.

* **And here is the even better deal: Buy two ADMIRAL FARRAGUT'S TELESCOPES for $109.90 and we'll send you a third one with our compliments – absolutely FREE!** You will be amazed and delighted with this wonderful instrument. You deserve to treat yourself a little, you deserve to get a better look at the world. Order **ADMIRAL FARRAGUT'S TELESCOPE** today!

You may order by toll-free phone, by mail, or by fax and pay by check or AMEX/Visa/MasterCard. Please give order code shown. Add $6.95 S/H for one and $12.95 for three telescopes and sales tax for CA delivery. You have 30-day refund and one-year warranty. We do not refund postage. For customer service or wholesale information, please call (415) 356-7801.

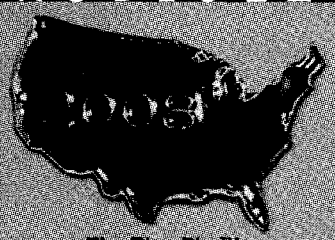
Please give order code Y651
jomira
division of jomira/advance
470 Third Street, #211, San Francisco, CA 94107

© Order by toll-free phone: (800) 600-2777 or (fastest!) by fax: (415) 356-7804 ©
Visit our website at www.jomira.com

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

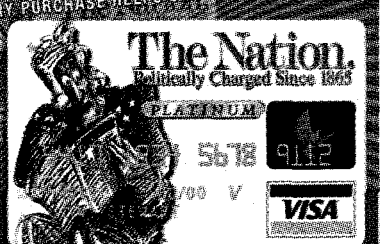
HOMELAND SECURITY

"Fighting Terrorism since 1492"
"Homeland Security" t-shirt • item #1977B • sizes S-3X
Products for Progressives since 1979.
Northern Sun Merchandising
to order, or for a free catalog • 800.258.8579 xTN
www.northernsun.com

RUBLUE2

The Blue Pin ™
Support Change in 2008
Wear The Blue Pin and join the movement.
To order:
www.unitedblueusa.com
Copyright: © 2004 UnitedBlueUSA.com. All rights reserved.

Writing Services for
Liberals, Enviros, Peaceniks,
and Other Pariahs.
John Sherman
949-494-5073
john@fordsherman.com

Oil Addiction, the World in Peril
by Pierre Chomat
A terrible paradox: the power of America is rooted in dependency.
Paper & ebook at
Universal-Publishers.com
& Amazon.com

USE YOUR NATION VISA CARD
EVERY PURCHASE HELPS SUPPORT THE NATION.


TO APPLY CALL 1-800-347-7887

his desire to "channel the voices" of his characters, but his ventriloquism simply doesn't carry the emotional force of his confessions, and no amount of folkie flat-picking can make it feel any more genuine. At this stage of his career, real musical authenticity from Springsteen may mean laying aside the acoustic guitar and the Okie accent and the sepia-toned storytelling, and once again trying to make music about his own life—the life of a 55-year-old multimillionaire family man. This may be an uncomfortable task for Springsteen, with his romantic attachment to working-class experience, but challenges can bring out the best in songwriters, and he's done this sort of thing before: His finest record of the last two decades, *Tunnel of Love* (1987), was a chronicle of his crumbling first marriage. Here's hoping that the next Springsteen album will have fewer *mustañeros* and more Bruce. ■

FILMS

A Fistful of Dollars

STUART KLAWANS

CINDERELLA MAN • MR. & MRS. SMITH • BATMAN BEGINS

She was a saint, Renée Zellweger, with her brave chin all a-tremble, never saying a harsh word to her husband no matter how the little ones wheezed and shivered in the cruel, cruel cold, nor how many a morning, just to put something in their stomachs, she had to fill up the milk bottle at the tap the way they were watering drinks down at the saloon, not that her Russell Crowe would know anything about that, him being as good a man as ever let another bash in his brains for fifteen rounds and never touched a drop of anything stronger than beer, and only one of those in the whole of *Cinderella Man*, which ought to show you what a saint he was, never saying a harsh word to Renée Zellweger or so much as glancing sideways at another woman, what with the peripheral vision beaten out of his poor eyes, or threatening to shut one of hers, the way that no-good communist friend of his down at the docks used to frighten the wits out of his own wife, until he was trampled to death by the police in an incident they all very much regretted, it being the Depression and all, which as Russell Crowe explained was nothing more than a run of bad luck that could happen to anyone, so that he had to bury the blackguard atheist in the potter's field before he took up his boxing gloves again to a Celtic drone in the artful cinematographic twilight, and with his tooraloom, tooraloom he bled for us all, because it's better to cheer for one man getting his skull stove in than to pull together with the working stiffs for a Wagner Act that Ron Howard's audience never heard of, and when the last fight was over and Father O'Pratie had lifted his eyes to the God who loves us all, despite His excusable partiality toward the Irish, and the little ones were rosy-cheeked again, and even that Bolshevik's wife was eased in her heart's sorrow, Renée Zellweger knew she'd been right to pucker her brave little mouth and pipe up to Russell Crowe, "You are the champion of my heart, James J. Braddock," because a sentiment like that doesn't belong just in a screenplay, no, but was made to be cut out of the film and played on television to bring in the coppers from all decent men and their decent women, too. A grand story, *Cinderella Man*—but unlike *Seabiscuit*, it's got no good reason to make you wade through horseshit.

The least you can say for *Mr. & Mrs. Smith* is that its lead actors are not too good for this world. Brad Pitt and Angelina Jolie, who for months have figured in the tabloids and glossies as old-style Hollywood sinners, introduce the movie and close it out by pretending to participate in counseling sessions, which (although improbable as narrative) allow the stars to play to the camera in thinly disguised scandal-sheet personas. He: sexy, dazzling and reckless. She: sexy, knowing and dangerous. Given the bare and patchwork texture of Simon Kinberg's script, the events between these chats amount to little more than a fanciful backstory for the famous couple. We may now imagine

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Brad 'n' Angie as a husband and wife who were sunk in suburban boredom until each learned the other was a professional assassin—a revelation that changed deathly marriage into an exciting, kill-or-be-killed situation.

So *Mr. & Mrs. Smith* belongs to a pair of long-established movie genres: the celebrity self-parody and the therapeutic marital comedy (in which violent bursts of truth-telling and surges of adrenaline lead to hormonal release of another kind). The film's distinction, if you can call it that, lies in its developing the latter genre with blithe amorality: The only good the movie recognizes is good sex. If the prerequisite should be mass murder, then you shouldn't be so uncool as to object—let alone stop to wonder how many corpses have piled up.

Given the considerable craft of the stars, of Doug Liman (director of the far superior *Go* and *The Bourne Identity*) and of cinematographer Bojan Bazelli, *Mr. & Mrs. Smith* succeeds in turning the potentially unwatchable into the merely unpalatable. Thanks a lot. The movie even takes on a fitful life at certain times, like *Cinderella Man*, through the force of a supporting actor. The boxing tear-jerker features Paul Giamatti, acting so hard and fast that he even carries you past the moments when he reveals his technique. The homicidal comedy features Vince Vaughn, having a high old time as an outer-borough, mama's boy assassin.

Incidental pleasures. When you step out of *Mr. & Mrs. Smith* into the comparatively soothing ambience of Times Square being jackhammered, you may ask whether the film has produced any shocks of recognition you enjoyed. The answer, most likely, will be no—unless you think Iraq might be a fun place for the next Pitt-Jolie adventure. I noticed a certain resemblance between the movie's settings (once the sexed-up couple had blasted them apart) and images of post-invasion Falluja.

One is jeering, the other smarmy, but *Mr. & Mrs. Smith* and *Cinderella Man* are alike in playing down to the audience. You can tell they were made by people who don't truly believe in the material, and who figure you for a sucker if you do. That's why the release of *Batman Begins* comes as both a relief and a satisfaction. Knowing that many millions of people have taken *Batman* seriously, at least at some point in their lives, the filmmakers have approached their material as something not just to exploit but to respect. They have dared to do *Batman* straight—and the result is the rare summer blockbuster with heart, brains and imagination.

What would it be like to venture alone, for the first time, into a cave that you know will be teeming with bats? What kind of person must you have become to welcome the oncoming swarm? What sequence of images will be eloquent enough to make an audience taste the fur in the air, feel the passing of furious wings, sense the man's awful resolve? Writer-director Christopher Nolan and co-writer David Goyer are the first filmmakers to ask themselves such questions; the first to explain, plausibly, where Batman gets all those neat toys; even the first to make full use of his cape. And even though their dialogue hammers away too insistently at the script's key ideas—which owe as much to *The Shadow* as to the Dark Knight himself—Nolan and Goyer deserve credit as the first team to make a *Batman* movie that's thematically coherent. It's about the effects of fear (or maybe I should say terror) on individuals and society.

The actors set the tone. *Batman Begins* stars the lavish roster of Christian Bale, Michael Caine, Morgan Freeman, Gary Oldman, Tom Wilkinson and Liam Neeson, all of whom steadily underplay, with immense confidence in themselves and the script. (Katie Holmes, though the youngest by far, proves herself the peer of her colleagues, playing a character who goes well beyond the standard skirt role.) Flashes of humor occasionally lighten the proceedings, especially when Freeman is in the scene; but there's no winking, no leering, no Pop Art. Blessings upon the memory of Bob Kane, we at last have a postironic Batman.

And why not? The hero must confront problems that have always been before him: how to distinguish justice from vengeance, legitimate force from brutality. These are serious matters, even for a guy decked out in a cape. I'm glad a comic-book figure is now speaking of them openly, since our government sure won't.

As for the look and sound of the film: Everything from the meticulous costumes to the brooding, crumbling sprawl of Gotham is at least equal to what you'll find in previous *Batman* movies, with the exception of the music. I miss Danny Elfman. That said, Nolan and his collaborators have at last got the story right, from the inside.

It may sound perverse, at this late date, to call a movie *Batman Begins*—but this one justifies the title.

Friedlander

Through August 29

More than 500 works survey one of the richest careers in photography's history.

A comprehensive book with more than 750 plates is now available.

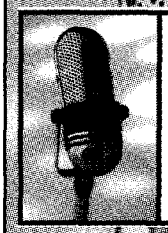
MoMA
The Museum of Modern Art
11 W. 53 St. (212) 708-9400 MoMA.org

Friedlander is made possible by The William Randolph Hearst Endowment Fund. The publication is made possible by the John Szarkowski Publications Fund. The accompanying educational programs are made possible by BNP Paribas.

CALL ticketmaster NOW FOR ADVANCE TICKETS:
(212) 220-0505 OR VISIT TICKETMASTER.COM

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Unforgettable stories.
Extraordinary sound. Hear the best radio documentaries from around the world.
www.thirdcoastfestival.org.



THIRD COAST
INTERNATIONAL
AUDIO
FESTIVAL
CHICAGO PUBLIC RADIO

WAR IS NOT THE ANSWER
Building the Beloved Community
www.drivedemocracy.org

EVENTS

NATIONAL

Economy Connection

■ War and Global Capitalism. Unemployment and Recession. For speakers and resources on these and related topics, contact Economy Connection, a project of the Union for Radical Political Economics. We can provide speakers for formal or informal events sponsored by community groups, unions, high schools, colleges or political organizations. Our speakers can talk about wealth and poverty, and the economic forces that generate increasing income inequality, between and within countries. They can cut through the confusing terminology that is used to prevent ordinary, intelligent people (with and without college degrees) from understanding and participating in discussions on the policies that affect our lives. Tell us what you need and we will look for a speaker who is right for you. Contact us at (201) 792-7459 or soapbox@comcast.net. JOIN URPE! Contact www.urpe.org, (413) 577-0806, URPE@labornet.org.

The advertising deadline for Events is every Thursday. Rates: $190 for 50 words; $225 for 75 words, additional words (above 75) $2.00 each. To place an ad, call Leigh at (212) 209-5414.

"We wouldn't have watched it beyond the first reel, except that Edith Kramer insisted it was great. We just sat there looking at each other and shrugging. But then we got into the second part of the film, and we found out—Edith was right."

The year was 1983, and the speaker was Larry Kardish of the Museum of Modern Art. He was very kindly introducing me to *Sequences* by Alexandru Tatos, which he and his colleagues had selected for the New Directors/New Films series. But, perhaps more important, he was introducing me to the name of the Pacific Film Archive's Edith Kramer. As I was to see when I got to watch *Sequences*, she was indeed right about her dark Romanian satires. As I was to learn over the next decades, she was also right about just about everything else.

Now, after thirty years at the PFA—twenty-two of them as its senior film curator and director—Edith Kramer will retire at the end of June. If you are a civilian moviegoer, especially one who lives outside Berkeley, you might not understand what this means to you. So let me summarize:

Edith expanded the PFA's collection to more than 12,000 titles, preserving these films for generations of exhibition and study. She helped keep alive an international network of contemporary film by inviting to Berkeley such directors as Budd Boetticher, Charles Burnett, Sam Fuller, Agnieszka Holland, King Hu, Dusan Makavejev, Nagisa Oshima, Yvonne Rainer and Bertrand Tavernier. She commissioned exciting new musical scores for silent-era films such as *Aelita: Queen of Mars* and *Earth*. She made the PFA home to the San Francisco International Film Festival, MadCat Women's International Film Festival, Human Rights Watch Film Festival and many more.

Then there was her devotion to the new, the cheap, the whacked-out—what we used to call the avant-garde. On the one occasion when I got to visit her on her home turf, in 1999, Edith sat me down with some recent televisual oddities from Sicily. I can't remember who made them, nor do I have any idea what they were about. All I know is that after half an hour, I was chewing my tongue—and she was right to program them.

The PFA will manage to go on showing films without Edith Kramer. (She's seen to that.) Movies will still be preserved, filmmakers will still circulate and strange people from Sicily will improbably go on televising their fever dreams. But, for all that, will we miss her?

To quote Anna Magnani, shrugging at the end of *The Golden Coach*: "A little." ■

Classified

While we reserve the right to edit, reject or reclassify any advertisement, The Nation *wishes its readers to know we don't have the facilities to check the promises made by our advertisers, and we have a strong presumption against censoring any advertisement, especially if we disagree with its politics.*

ACTIVISM

INVESTIGATE FOR YOURSELF! A great World Teacher is here with practical solutions to our most critical problems. Justice, reason and peace will prevail. Free CD. (888) 242-8272, share-international.org.

ANCIENT SECRETS

PROOF JESUS FICTIONAL. Scholarly booklet conclusively proves Flavius Josephus (Romans) created fictional Jesus, authored gospels. Amazing but absolutely incontrovertible! $10: Abelard, Box 5652-A, Kent, WA 98064. (Details, SASE.)

BLOGS/WEB

FREE—Song parodies and rhymed verse satirizing Junior's foibles and miscalculations. www.politicalboondoggles.com.

OUTSIDE THE BOX! Secular, spiritual blogs, books. Free download e-zine, e-book. Comments invited. www.karlroebling.com.

WANTED: THINKERS. Reliable website host and domain-name registrar seeks thinking customers. Learn more at www.pair.com.

LET THEM EAT DATE! Straight talk from the epicenter of Empire. Can you chew on that? The independent www.saudipolitics.com.

BOOKS

POPE'S DEATH, election of Jewish Pontiff trigger Vatican schism. Nostradamus, St. Malachy, Fatima prophecies. www.apokalypso.com.

CHIROPRACTOR

DR. VITTORIA REPETTO, CHIROPRACTOR. Applied kinesiologist. Are you motivated to experience optimal health? Tired of assembly-line healthcare? (212) 431-3724, www.drvittoria-repetto.meta-ehealth.com.

CONSULTING

GET THE EDGE! As progressive as your politics...marketing, sales, human resources: www.TheAddedEdge.com. Catalytic Coaching: www.AddedEdge.com.

FREE THOUGHT

FREETHOUGHT TODAY. Newspaper for atheists, agnostics, First Amendment fans. Free sample: www.ffrf.org/fttoday/. Ten issues/year, $20. PO Box 750, Madison, WI 53701.

GAY & LESBIAN LAW

DOMESTIC PARTNERSHIP AGREEMENTS, wills and trusts, durable powers of attorney, living wills, designation of healthcare surrogates, domestic partnership dissolutions, specialized services. Thomas D. Yannitelli, Esq. tdylaw@msn.com, (813) 495-0725.

LIBERAL LIAISONS

GAY MANHATTAN RENAISSANCE WOMAN. High-profile, dynamic, warm, creative, passionate, communicative, successful, pretty, thin, fit and fun. Seeks same. 49–60-ish. DreamPoetNYC@yahoo.com. Please reply to Nation Box 409.

POOR TENNIS PLAYER (NO SERVE) but trim, attractive, glass-half-full-minded woman of a certain age ponders second-time-around wonderful male companion. 60 to mid-70s. Sense of humor a must; literary tastes and traveler a plus. Pix and e-mail, please. Reply to Nation Box 410.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Classified

LIBERAL LIAISONS

GREENSINGLES.COM—Free photo ads for progressive singles in the environmental, vegetarian and animal rights communities. Searchable listings for friendship, dating, marriage. Since 1985. www.GreenSingles.com.

EROTIC ADULT PHONE CONVERSATION with sensual, intelligent women. Any topic welcome! VISA/MC/AMEX. Call (888) 495-8255.

FETISHES AND FANTASIES fulfilled. Hot erotic talk with creative, sensuous woman. No limits. Personal, confidential. Call (866) 844-8286.

If responding to a Nation Box number, send replies to: Nation Box ___ , The Nation, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003.

MERCHANDISE

WE ARE THE ANTI-BUSH!™ tees, bumpers,gifts and more! www.Unemployed-Democrats.com.

SUPPORT *THE NATION* AND OUR NATION! Shop online at www.thenationmart.com and excercise subtle and not-so-subtle dissent. Most items are union-made. Great gifts!

FREE BUMPER STICKER. Call (800) 630-1330 or see www.fcnl.org. Friends Committee on National Legislation.

PEACERIBBONS CAR MAGNETS. Blue "Support Peace" ribbon, yellow "Bring Them Home" ribbon, $4.95 each. www.peaceribbons.com.

ORGANIZATIONS

WOODLAND HILLS, CA, *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP FORMING. Contact Bailey (818) 227-0076.

POLICY

END THE DRUG WAR. See www.CommonSenseDrugPolicy.org, www.DrugWarFacts.org, www.DRCNet.org, www.MedicalMJ.org, www.DrugSense.org, www.AddictInTheFamily.org.

POSITIONS AVAILABLE

THE NATION INSTITUTE, a public charity, seeks an experienced financial administrator in NYC office. Responsibilities include creation of annual budget, administration of employee benefits, processing of grants and management of various project funds. Knowledge of QuickBooks and Excel essential. Must be able to handle multiple tasks and work on deadline. Excellent math and communications skills required. Congenial work atmosphere and excellent benefits. Minorities and people of color are strongly encouraged to apply. Send résumé and cover letter with salary requirements to The Nation Institute, 33 Irving Place, 8th Floor, New York, NY 10003. Fax: (212) 982-4022. No phone calls please.

***NATION* STUDENT OUTREACH:** Attention student activists! If you're involved in organizing a progressive event, lecture or film festival on your campus or in your community and would like to distribute copies of *The Nation*, please let us know by calling (212) 209-5416.

POSITIONS AVAILABLE

WEB EDITOR. *The Nation* seeks a full-time web editor with progressive politics, boundless energy and a strong commitment to help amplify the influence and scope of the magazine's online presence. The web editor will work closely with magazine editors as well as business staffers in developing the site. Major responsibilities include planning, creating and implementing new *Nation* online features; conceiving and executing the creation of online enhancements to articles originating from the print magazine; assisting in outreach to other online media; coordinating breaking online news coverage; and editing original *Nation* online articles. Ideal candidate has at least three years of experience working at a political website, closely follows the news media—print, broadcast and online—has broad familiarity with the progressive community, keeps abreast of alternative and youth culture, works well with a wide array of individuals, internal departments and outside organizations and is comfortable with very tight deadline pressure. Familiarity with HTML and online production and content management a plus. Must work in *The Nation*'s New York City office. Position offers generous benefits and a convivial work atmosphere. *The Nation* is an equal opportunity employer; people of color and other minorities strongly encouraged to apply. E-mail résumé, cover letter and salary requirements to: webjob@thenation.com. No calls please.

PSYCHOTHERAPY

CHICAGO PSYCHOTHERAPIST, twenty-two years experience. Specializing in issues including depression, anxiety, relationships and the concerns of artists, academics and students. Sliding scale, insurance accepted. Deborah Hellerstein, LCSW, (312) 409-9516.

MALE SURVIVORS OF ABUSE AND TRAUMA. Experienced psychologist offers help and understanding for male survivors of physical, sexual and emotional abuse and trauma. Phone, Internet and NYC office services available. NYS. Licensed William Wedin, PhD. (212) 873-2712.

CHILD PSYCHOLOGIST. Evaluation of your child in plain English. Address issues such as ADD, learning disorder, negative behavior. Free conference. Dr. Dominick Antonelli, PhD. Upper West Side. (212) 222-8085.

SAN FRANCISCO PSYCHOTHERAPIST treats depression, relationship issues, anxiety, crises. Consultation available. Sliding scale. Paula Holt, LCSW, (415) 289-6990.

WOMAN CLINICAL PSYCHOLOGIST, twenty-five years' experience. Insight-oriented and analytic. Free consultation. Sliding scale. Mutually agreed-upon fees. Insurance accepted. Carnegie Hall vicinity. Margaret Kinder, PhD, (212) 582-5508.

NEW YORK THERAPIST, twenty years' clinical and university-based experience. Separation and divorced parenting; divorced fathers. Individual, family and couples. Bill Dineen, LCSW, (917) 566-4785.

PUBLISHING

PROSE NEED POLISHING? Discover *Editor* at www.serenity-software.com.

SEEKING LIMERICK AFICIONADO publisher/agent for book of 601 totally new, never-seen/heard, mostly bawdy limericks created by master of rhyme/meter. Rhymer1@verizon.net.

RADIO

UNFORGETTABLE STORIES. EXTRAORDINARY SOUND. Hear the best radio documentaries from around the world. www.thirdcoastfestival.org. See our display ad on page 36.

RADIONATION is currently aired on more than ninety public stations in the United States and Canada. For a full listing and other information, write RadioNation, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003.

REAL ESTATE

NOVA SCOTIA. 1810 Scottish farmhouse, four stone fireplaces. Twenty-eight acres, private waterfront near Baddeck, Cape Breton. $220,000. jertel@ns.sympatico.ca or (203) 302-1051.

SANTA FE. Progressive Realtor® seeks same in clients. Peter Kahn, Town & Ranch, (800) 418-1221 x 171 or pkahn@keshi.com.

RENTALS

BEAUTIFUL, SEASIDE BROOKLINE MAINE: Historic New England Cape with all modern conveniences. Idyllic and green. Perfect for vacation or work. Reasonable rates for weekly, monthly rentals. Contact: (212) 864-5443 or Lccole25@aol.com.

UPPER WEST SIDE: OWN BEDROOM/PHONE. Seven-room apartment in quiet, safe, prewar building. Doorman, excellent transportation. References, security. (212) 222-8388.

IDYLLIC "RED" LAKEFRONT CONNECTICUT. Three-bedroom cottage. Babysitter built-in. Weekly/monthly. (212) 289 1590.

SPANISH STUDY

GUATEMALA. Study Spanish plus CLEP, Praxis preparation, internship, voluntary work, cheap tours. www.casaxelaju.com.

TRAVEL/TOURS

EXPLORE POLITICS, ECONOMY, CULTURE ABROAD through Reality Tours with Global Exchange. See ad in *The Nation,* page 29, www.globalexchange.org.

VERMONT—PIE IN THE SKY FARM BED AND BREAKFAST. Elegant farmhouse. Suites, rooms, events. (802) 426-3777. www.pieinsky.com.

CLASSIFIED ORDER FORM

Rates and Frequency Discounts: STANDARD $3.75 per word, 15-word minimum; PO Box and telephone numbers count as two words.

Buy 4 runs, pay $3.40 per word
Buy 10 runs, pay $3.25 per word
Buy 24 runs, pay $2.95 per word
Buy 47 runs, pay $2.40 per word

Logos: We will print your logo and center the headline of your advertisement for an additional fee of $45/insertion. Maximum size for a logo is 2 1/4″ wide by 1/2″ deep. Stat of logo should accompany ad copy and payment.

Deadline: Tuesday, 3 PM, 27 days prior to Monday issue date.

Payment in US currency or major credit card must accompany order.

Enclosed is my check for $_____ for __ insertions at $_____ / word rate.

"Personals" advertisers: Be sure to include $45 for Nation Box number/forwarding service.

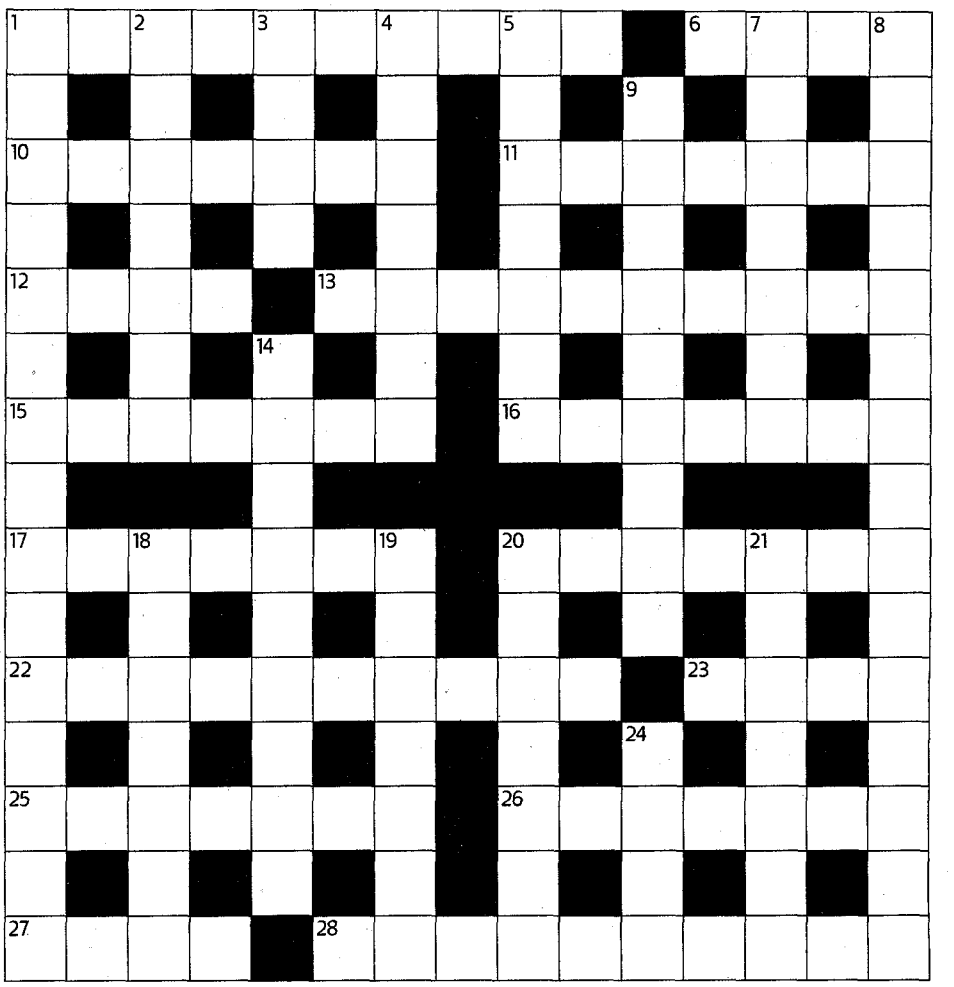
For all ads please include your name, address and contact phone number with your ad. You can FAX your classifieds to us at (212) 982-9000 or e-mail leigh@thenation.com.

Attach ad, typewritten if possible.
The Nation, Classified Department,
33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PUZZLE NO. 2994

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 There's a close friend in the motor raceway going backward and forward with Madam, for example! (10)

6 and **20** Escaped getting a disease, one hears, at the cooperative store. (4,3,4)

10 Choose evil, it appears, as the way a person fools us! (5,2)

11 Subsequently, when I am inside, a reformer will appear as a martyr. (7)

12 Has something, obviously, during a snow storm. (4)

13 In California, it's the way cars get wrecked, needing a final word to get it in the end. (10)

15 Not a new cut, though small—so you can say, "The devil with it!" (3,4)

16 Something Glück wrote? It's French, passing a drink around! (7)

17 This movie was a real disaster—a great big one! (7)

20 See 6

22 It might have helped in order to hear the goings-on, to tear madly about with a very odd British favorite. (3,7)

23 When the electricity jumps this way, it might leave a nasty scar! (4)

25 They sound like the so-called ugly type that might stay with you. (7)

26 A condition that makes the listener ache to get relief! (7)

27 and **28** No doubt when you have it the little fellow needs direction first, with what describes a tricky man. (4-10)

DOWN

1 Mrs. Nixon and Mr. Reagan frequently (as they used to say) have things one can't live without as a philanthropist. (6,2,3,4)

2 Compared to this, you have a mild desire to turn the study over. (7)

3 See 24

4 It takes some social standing around the Air Command to pillage the place! (7)

5 A not-quite-masculine operatic song? One has a real complaint with it! (7)

7 Old, sad, songs—possibly last formed about grown-up boys! (7)

8 How one may cross the ocean to get employment, with a broken nose and a quotation from Shakespeare, perhaps. (4,4,7)

9 An old richly ornamented garment with an aperture very dear to Parisians. (The opposite of a fanny-pack?) (9)

14 Evidently the table is laid for a meal with matching dishes. (6,3)

18 It makes a lot of confusion to work around the crumbling French wall! (7)

19 Makes an appearance with what one does when the anesthetic wears off. (5,2)

20 Angry and disgusted about what one did first, as a matter of course? (4,3)

21 A one-time president of Mexico who got a pretty fair mark in a northwest state. (7)

24 and **3** It's not easy to get where the monster is supposed to splash with a steely quality. (8)

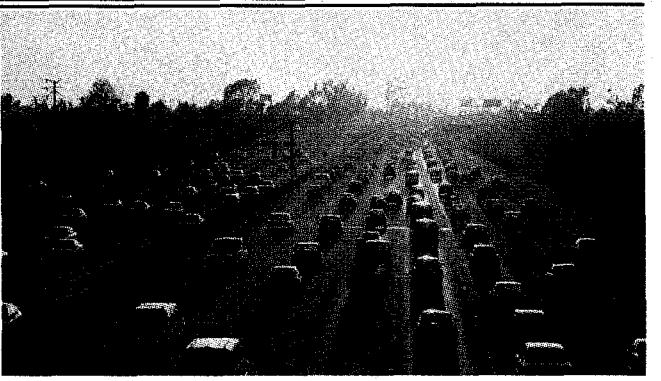
SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 2993

T	U	R	N	O	N	T	H	E	L	I	G	H	T	
H		O		V		E		A		D		O		U
R	I	N	G	E	R	S		S	W	E	A	T	E	R
E		D		R		S		T		A		R		G
S	H	E	L	L	S		W	E	L	L	D	O	N	E
H		A		O		B		R				D		
O		U	T	O	P	I	A	N		O	A	S	I	S
L				K		G		E		S				W
D	R	E	S	S		B	E	R	A	T	E	D		O
		Q				R		S		E		A		R
B	L	U	E	M	O	O	N		H	O	O	K	E	D
E		A		A		T		S		P		O		P
C	A	T	F	I	S	H		C	H	A	T	T	E	L
K		O		D		E		A		T		A		A
	T	R	I	S	T	R	A	M	S	H	A	N	D	Y

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

To some, sunglasses are a fashion accessory...

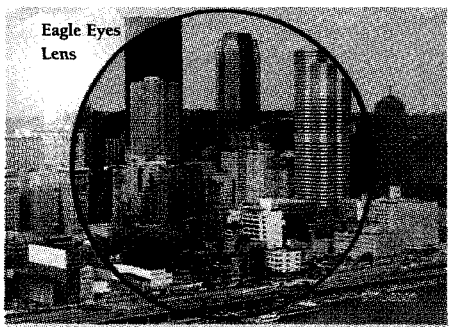
But When Driving, These Sunglasses May Save Your Life!



You are exposed to more dangerous glare while driving than while sitting at the beach. Do you know how to protect yourself? An amazing breakthrough in optic technology by NASA called Eagle Eyes® can be your answer. The sun rises and sets during your peak travel times, the morning and afternoon rush hours. Many drivers find themselves temporarily blinded as they drive directly into the glare of the sun. Deadly accidents are regularly caused by such blinding glare. Danger can come from reflected light off of another vehicle, from the pavement, or from your own windshield. Early morning frost or dew can exacerbate this situation. Salted or snowy road conditions can make matters even worse. Yet, motorists struggle on despite being blinded by the sun's glare that cause countless accidents every year.

Beware of windshield glare!

Oil and grease can buildup on your windshield and increase reflective glare. This powerful glare of the sun can actually damage the various layers of the eye. Certain road conditions can raise the amount of UV that you are exposed to by up to 85%. Dr. Joel Hirsh says, *"Too often, people purchase sunglasses based only on style and darkness. Eagle Eyes not only look great, but they're one of the safest sunglasses you can buy. Their patented Blocking Lens Technology blocks almost 100% of harmful blue, violet and ultraviolet light while the polarized filter cuts the glare!"*



Slip on a pair of Eagle Eyes and everything instantly appears more vivid and sharp. You'll immediately notice that your eyes are more comfortable and relaxed and you'll feel no need to squint. The scientifically designed sunglasses are not just fashion accessories—they are necessary to protect your eyes from those harmful rays produced by the sun in many peak driving times.

> *As a board certified ophthalmologist, I recommend Eagle Eyes to all my patients to protect and enhance their vision!*
>
> *—Dr. Lyda D. Tymiak*

NASA's researchers looked to nature for a solution.

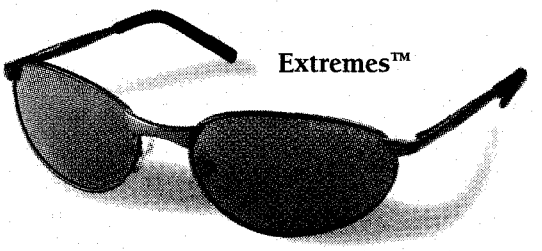
Conventional sunglasses can actually blur your vision by allowing harmful UV light, blue light rays, and reflective glare in. They can even darken useful, vision-enhancing light rays. At NASA's Jet Propulsion Laboratory, scientists looked to nature for a solution by studying the eyes of eagles, known for their extreme visual acuity. The result of this breakthrough technology is Eagle Eyes®. NASA's researchers studied how eagles can distinguish their prey from their surroundings with utmost precision, while protecting their eyes from the exposure of harmful high-energy sunlight. These studies led to a revolutionary protection system for human eyesight.

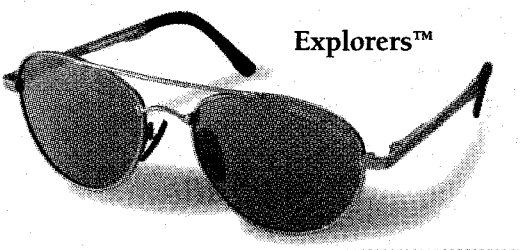
Patented triple filtering lens system.

With a patented triple filtering system, Eagle Eyes® will reduce the blinding glare you may encounter while driving or enjoying outside activities. The lenses will also block the UV light while enhancing the colors of your surrounding environment. You can experience enhanced visual acuity, even at great distances in most weather conditions.

Not just one pair.

We are so anxious for you to try the Eagle Eyes® breakthrough technology that when you try the Eagle Eyes® Extremes™ we will give you the Explorers™ FREE! That's two ways to protect your eyes and prevent blinding glare for less than the price of one pair of traditional sunglasses. You'll also receive one hard leatherette case and one soft cloth pouch so you can carry and protect your Eagle Eyes® in style. Plus, if you are not thrilled with the Eagle Eyes® technology, just send them back for a full refund of the purchase price. You should always have a pair of sunglasses available when you drive, so put Eagle Eyes® in all of your cars and start seeing the world without dangerous squinting and with more clarity than you've ever imagined. So, buckle-up, check your mirrors, and put on your Eagle Eyes before you drive.





*Eagle Eyes are patented, officially recognized NASA Spinoff technology and are on display at NASA's Houston Space Visitors Center.

Eagle Eyes® Sunglasses
Extremes™ *only* $49.95 +S&H

Receive the Explorers™ absolutely FREE!—2 pair for the price of one!

Universal Clip-ons available for $29.95 +S&H

Promotional Code EGL235-04
Please mention this when you call.

Call to order toll-free, 24 hours a day, 7 days a week.

800-859-1802

NEXTTEN
14101 Southcross Drive W., Dept. EGL235-04 Burnsville, Minnesota 55337

For information on all our products:
www.NextTen.com

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Forbes FYI

"Turn it up, close your eyes and you'll think you're listening to a...sound system that costs five times more."

Audio Video International

"...deeper bass and more accurate reproduction of the sound of musical instruments..."

Jonathan Takiff, *Philadelphia Daily News*

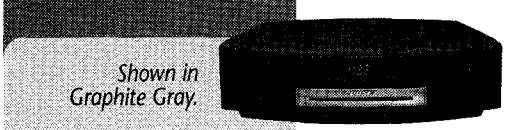
"This sleek, compact music maker couldn't be easier to operate. Yet sophisticated technology hidden inside makes this an extraordinary performer."

Stephen Williams, *Newsday*

"There are critical listeners who could make the new Wave their primary home music system; the clarity and detail are that pronounced."

Hear what you've been missing.

The Bose® Wave® music system.



Shown in Graphite Gray.

Call 1-800-656-2073, ext. TG529 to experience the acclaimed sound of the Bose® Wave® music system. And hear for yourself what the critics are talking about.

It sounds even better than the legendary Wave® radio/CD. Listen to your favorite CD, MP3 CD or FM/AM radio station on the Wave® music system. You'll hear it reproduce one-half octave lower musical notes than its award-winning predecessor, giving instruments like kettle drums and bass guitars a more natural presence. Plus, significant improvements in clarity and definition let you hear and appreciate even more of the intricate nuances of many instruments – including the human voice. When David Novak, the Gadget Guy, listened for himself, he said, "It can easily replace whatever component system you currently have."

You'll also enjoy enhanced simplicity and elegance. With the Wave® music system, enjoying premium sound could not be easier. Just plug it in. Every feature and function is easily controlled using the credit card-style remote. And there are no confusing buttons or dials to adjust in the pursuit of tonal balance – that's handled automatically for you. All you see is a sleek, all-in-one unit that neatly encloses what *MetroWest Daily News* calls a "simplified break from traditional sound systems."

FREE Accessory Kit when you order by Aug. 31, 2005.

You have 30 days to listen – risk free. The Wave® music system is available directly from Bose, the most respected name in sound. Our Excitement Guarantee gives you 30 days to listen in your own home. Order now and receive a complimentary Accessory Kit. This $75 value includes helpful items like an extra remote control and an Extended Warranty Plan that increases your coverage from one to three years. All at no cost to you. When you call, be sure to ask about our payment plan, which lets you use your own major credit card to make **12 easy payments,** with no interest charges from Bose.* So call, and hear the Wave® music system for yourself.

*Effective June 1, 2005. Bose payment plan available on orders of $349-$1500 paid by major credit card. Down payment is 1/12 the product price plus tax and shipping charges. Then, your credit card will be billed for 11 equal monthly installments with 0% APR and no interest charges from Bose. Credit card rules and interest may apply. U.S. residents only. Limit one active financing program per customer. ©2005 Bose Corporation. Patent rights issued and/or pending. The distinctive design is also a registered trademark of Bose Corporation. Financing and Accessory Kit offer not to be combined with other offers or applied to previous purchases, and subject to change without notice. If Wave® music system is returned, Accessory Kit must be returned for a full refund. Risk free refers to 30-day trial only and does not include return shipping. Delivery is subject to product availability. Quote is reprinted with permission: Thomas Jackson, *Forbes FYI*, Winter 2004.

TO ORDER OR LEARN MORE, CALL TODAY

1-800-656-2073

EXT. TG529

Discover all our innovative products at

www.bose.com/tg529

Name_____

Address_____

City_____ State____ Zip_____

Phone_____ E-mail (Optional)_____

Mail to: Bose Corp., Dept. DMG-TG529, The Mountain, Framingham, MA 01701-9168

BOSE®

Better sound through research®

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED